CAN THE ROBOT BOMB CROSS THE ATLANTIC? *by KURT CONWAY*

AUGUST 15
1 9 4 4

NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

RETURN TO THE
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

THE TRUTH ABOUT BRETTON WOODS

The meaning of the international money conference.

by VIRGINIA GARDNER

OUR POSTWAR SCHOOLS

Two college professors survey the future of education in America.

by ABRAHAM EDEL and SARAH RIEDMAN

BLACKMAILING HOLLYWOOD

by BRUCE MINTON

ON THE ROAD TO PARIS

by COLONEL T.

I LIKE BROWDER'S BOOK

by JUDGE PATRICK H. O' BRIEN

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETWEEN OURSELVES

OUR roving A. B. Magil finally got back in town, with lots of good stories to tell. He covered approximately 3,000 miles, speaking in five cities in six days. Before he left Chicago, at a private gathering at someone's home a small enthusiastic crowd pledged seventy-five NM subs. (This was in addition to the large Chicago meeting which we told you about last week.)

In Minneapolis, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Columbus, he met equally eager audiences. Subs and additional money for NM's fund drive were obtained, and Friends of NEW MASSES groups established. In every case, Negroes and members of the armed forces were present, as well as leading figures in the labor and progressive movements. He spoke in Columbus twice—once as a luncheon guest of honor at the Deschler Wallick Hotel, and at an evening meeting. There were present one member of the Ohio State Legislature (even in Bricker's bailiwick), and a number of teachers from Ohio State University (Ruth McKenney's alma mater, a point mentioned with pleasure by the chairman). In St. Louis several Negroes said they had never seen a copy of NM and asked where it could be bought.

The various Friends of NEW MASSES organizations are planning to develop, particularly, cultural activities in their cities. In Minneapolis, Meridel Le Sueur, long an NM contributor and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association, is one of the prominent figures in the FNM group. Incidentally, we just discovered that in addition to doing a book in the American Folkway Series, edited by Erskine Caldwell and published by Duell, Sloan, & Pearce (we mentioned it some weeks ago), she's hard at work on a novel dealing with the Civil War period in Minnesota. We also hear that she's dug up some very interesting material which hasn't come to light before.

BY THE way, Magil has asked us to publish the following note to our readers, *re* his coverage of the Democratic convention:

"In my haste to make the deadline for my article on the Democratic convention in the August 1 issue I did an injustice to an important labor group. I mentioned the delegates affiliated to the CIO and AFL, but failed to say anything about those of the independent railroad brotherhoods. Among the latter was A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, who was a delegate-at-large from Ohio. I should also have referred to another leading labor delegate from Ohio, Philip P. Hannah, progressive secretary of the Ohio Federation of Labor."

YOU'VE all read reviews of Walter Lippmann's new book, *US War Aims*. You can look forward shortly to a comprehensive article-review in NM. It's written by John Stuart, our foreign editor, and is a detailed job of keen political reasoning. Another treat you may expect to find within the next week or two is Earl Browder's review of Eric Johnston's *America Unlimited*. The title (Mr. Browder paraphrases Lenin) is "Two Steps Forward and One Step Back."

SPEAKING of books, we're happy to say that one of our staff members has just had one published—hot off the press as of today. Samuel Sillen, our literary critic, celebrating the 125th anniversary of Walt Whitman's birth, has edited a volume of Whitman's poetry and prose, with a long introductory essay. The book is issued by International Publishers, and needless to say, will be reviewed in NM soon. And it only costs $1.50.

BRUCE MINTON, our former Washington correspondent, this week appears with another piece from the West Coast, where's he's now NM's representative. His story on the Motion Picture Alliance on page 11 will be of interest particularly, we feel, to our Eastern and Middlewestern readers who haven't had the advantage of first-hand coverage on this very important issue.

BEG your pardon: Joe Foster's movie reviews, after his article on *Wilson* this week, will not be resumed until two weeks hence. He is off for a vacation after his strenuous work on the Hollywood art auction. We'll catch up when he returns.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Contributing Editors
LIONEL BERMAN
ALVAH BESSIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
BELLA V. DODD
JOY DAVIDMAN
R. PALME DUTT
WILLIAM GROPPER
ALFRED KREYMBORG
JOHN H. LAWSON
VITO MARCANTONIO
RUTH McKENNEY
FREDERICK MYERS
SAMUEL PUTNAM
PAUL ROBESON
ISIDOR SCHNEIDER
HOWARD SELSAM
SAMUEL SILLEN
JOSEPH STAROBIN
MAX YERGAN

Editor: JOSEPH NORTH. *Associate Editors:* MARJORIE DE ARMAND, FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK*, A. B. MAGIL, VIRGINIA SHULL, JOHN STUART. *Washington Editor:* VIRGINIA GARDNER. *West Coast Editor:* BRUCE MINTON. *Literary Critic,* SAMUEL SILLEN; *Film,* JOSEPH FOSTER; *Drama,* HARRY TAYLOR; *Art,* MOSES SOYER; *Music,* PAUL ROSAS; *Dance,* FRANCIS STEUBEN. *Business Manager:* LOTTIE GORDON. *Field Director:* DORETTA TARMON. *Advertising Manager:* GERTRUDE CHASE.

* On leave with the armed forces.

Our Postwar Schools Abraham Edel and Sarah Riedman 3
The Victory of Bretton Woods Virginia Gardner 6
Gropper's Cartoon 7
What the Robot Bomb Can't Do Kurt Conway 9
Blackmailing Hollywood Bruce Minton . . . 11
I Like Browder's Book Judge Patrick H. O'Brien 13
Our Calvinist Legacy II Francis Franklin . . 14
What the Primaries Revealed The Editors . . 16
On the Road to Paris Colonel T. 19
Philadelphia's Shame E. Washington Rhodes 21
Guide to Magazine Readers Henry Black . 23
Book Reviews—Tailor's Progress, by Benjamin Stolberg: Stephen Peabody; The Bells of Saint Ivan's, by Robert Spencer Carr: Clifford Hallam; Hidden Faces, by Salvador Dali: Alan Benoit 26
Films Joseph Foster 28

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results. Vol. LII, No. 7. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 East Ninth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Copyright 1944, THE NEW MASSES, INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office.

Washington Office: 945 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico; six months $2.75; three months $1.50. Foreign, $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada $6.00 a year, $3.50 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20c Canadian money. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

209

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES

Vol. LII AUGUST 15, 1944 No. 7

OUR POSTWAR SCHOOLS

By ABRAHAM EDEL and SARAH RIEDMAN

NEW MASSES *is happy to present this article by Professor Edel of N. Y. City College and Professor Riedman of Brooklyn College to initiate a discussion of postwar problems in the area of education. Professor Edel is chairman of the Committee on Postwar Education of the College Chapter of the Teachers Union, Local 555, SCMWA-CIO; Professor Riedman is president of the chapter. We invite the comment of our readers, particularly those in the educational field. In addition to this phase of our postwar life,* NEW MASSES *will present a series dealing with perspectives in other professional areas, the physicians, the scientists, etc. We believe the fullest discussion of all these questions is of extreme pertinence today.*

IN THE general plan for a postwar world of peace and security the needs and role of education cannot be overlooked. Well-defined trends on long-range educational policy are already apparent. While the slogans have not yet been advanced to a point where the average person can, so to speak, "take sides," the main lines of the educational struggle can already be seen to follow the main lines of the crucial struggle of our age.

In the decade immediately preceding America's entry into the war education was the object of attack by high-powered business interests. The economy blocs in our legislative chambers and executive offices recognized expansion in education as a threat to the then existing structure of mass unemployment. They fought tooth and nail such New Deal measures as the WPA's limited efforts at developing a program of mass services whether in nurseries, people's theaters, art projects or vocational training. Ideologically they were supported by the philosophies of those who, like Milo McDonald, editor of the *Signpost*, regarded anything beyond the three R's as fanfare, the nursery school as an ungodly invention of the Kremlin, and the public colleges as an instrument for "spoiling" the masses.

The prospect of a tremendously expanding postwar economy alters the picture considerably. With full employment recognized as a prerequisite for such expansion in industry as well as in itself a justified war aim, the climate for budget-cutting in education is decidedly unfavorable. The experiences of both the Army and industry in the prosecution of the war cannot be set aside as worthless findings of "starry-eyed" idealists who wish well for education. For the Army found itself faced with the problems of illiteracy and ignorance at every level of the learning process. Industry similarly found that to solve the very practical problems of production required an intensively trained personnel. Furthermore, aspirations of youth for advancement according to their ability into their rightful places in the community—freshly kindled by the experiences and opportunities of the war years—will not easily be subdued by cries for economy. The same holds for thousands of adults, among them many women, Negroes, and other groups in our population previously at the bottom of the employable ladder, who, trained and retrained in the race to defeat fascism, have been given an opportunity for improving their economic, social, and cultural life. The "cradle to the grave" concept of education is growing too popular for even the fascist-minded to strike at directly.

This growing consolidation of democratic forces will compel the opponents of a genuinely democratic education to rely more heavily on the theoretical front. Let everyone have an education if he must, but let it be of such a quality that there need be no fear of real democratic growth! And already we see all around us the large-scale offensive that reaction has launched. Newspaper columnists, radio series, prominent educators have worked in different ways along parallel lines to persuade the public of such propositions as these: "Progressive education is undisciplined; our schools practice progressive education; and so we have growing delinquency." "Our children do not know the facts and dates of American history; hence they should have less social science and more memorizing." "The crisis in our values is due to materialistic, relativistic education; hence we need more dogmatic absolutes and more emphasis on religion." "The schools have gone in too much for vocationalism; hence our college curriculum should consist of the hundred best books of the past."

AMONG the various theoretical movements that flow into this anti-democratic stream the most respectable as well as the most powerful is the so-called Hutchins school. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, is its leading spirit, and Stringfellow Barr, president of St. John's College (Maryland) is, in effect, running its demonstration school. The Hutchins group has become known as the "Great Book Boys" because their recommendation for a total college curriculum is intensive reading of a hundred or so great books of the past, on the underlying assumption that truth is eternal, the same for all times and for all men and that the great truths have been set down in the classics from the Greeks to the nineteenth century. "Education for Freedom, Inc." has recently been founded to popularize these theories, and has embarked on a long series of radio talks featuring many prominent educators.

In its various manifestoes the theory has capitalized on the shortcomings of the present educational system. It wins followers by sharp criticism of the schools for an excessive emphasis on vocationalism, confusion in liberal education, insufficient emphasis on the common human element, inequalities of educational opportunity, and, above all, for insufficient training in reflective thinking. In every case, however, their proposed solutions are diametrically opposed to the recommendations of progressive educators and administrators.

The theory makes the cultivation of the "pure" intellect, which it takes to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be the common human element, the sole direct aim of education. It denies that it is the business of education to prepare people to live in a given society or to develop the habits of democratic citizenship. It ejects occupational preparation entirely from the schools and colleges as merely teaching the passing tricks of particular trades. All education is to be the pursuit of truth and sharpening the mind. In the colleges especially it attacks the elective system as giving free rein to whim. Since truth is the same for all, a single uniform curriculum is prescribed for all students. This is to consist exclusively of the hundred great books selected from the scientific, literary, and philosophical masterpieces of the past, to be read completely. The great names appearing on the list are calculated to warm the academic heart—Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Dante, Copernicus, Newton, Shakespeare, Adam Smith, even the whole of Marx's *Capital*. The list is heavily weighted on the side of mathematics and physics. There is no contemporary anthropology, sociology, economics, or psychology—in fact there is next to nothing contemporary at all. According to their theory this education is intended for everyone, not merely for superior students. In fact that is what its proponents mean by equality of educational opportunity. Boys and girls are supposed to be ready for this education at the age of fifteen, and we are assured that this will replace our present coddling of youth with mental discipline. Occupational preparation will be secondary and subsequent to this fundamental education, while all requisite social virtues will follow automatically from a clear disciplined mind.

These measures are, it need hardly be said, quite different from what progressive thinkers had in mind in their criticism of the schools. The latter call for encouragement of reflective thinking on critical social and economic issues of our own time. The past is to be studied as a basis for understanding the present, not as a means of ignoring it. Again, progressive thinkers seek to overcome the sharp separation of *liberal* and *vocational*, pointing out that these have been opposed only where liberal education is treated as the embellishment of a master elite and vocational education as preparation for a narrow servile status. They want to replace aimlessness in college education not by authoritarian imposition of uniformity on everyone, but by individual guidance allowing variety of education, within a common framework, to meet differences of aptitude and interest.

Insofar as the great books are concerned, no educator denies their educative value. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether they can be thrown at the young student in such a manner as the Hutchins school proposes and in such number; many of them are more appropriate for graduate specialists in the history of a particular field. It is, moreover, extremely narrowing to neglect all contemporary contributions to knowledge, to ignore the aesthetic and social entirely in favor of the so-called intellectual; and it is dubious educational method to cut the intellectual itself off from living experience to which it is integrally related. For progressive education has certainly made clear that learning is best accomplished by doing, where doing is part of a natural everyday living process and not one artificially set up.

Again, by calling on the schools to stress the common human element progressive thinkers strive to cultivate democratic values. They urge the schools to provide experience in democratic living, to take a hand in combatting racial and religious intolerance, to utilize the clarification that the war years have brought towards the development of a mature world outlook. Equality of educational opportunity means to progressive thinkers what the new Bill of Rights speaks of as "the right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness," with all that it implies in the way of educational facilities. They are concerned with a variety of education to fit all men's needs, not a fixed scholastic framework that would, if it became the dominant mode, serve to repel men from education, and cultivate its own elite.

If an educational movement is to be judged by its results—by the way it becomes interwoven in the fabric of educational and social development in the country—the theory of the Hutchins school is no harmless eccentricity. It becomes increasingly an ideological base from which to attack education. Its basic criticisms have become uncritical slogans and liberal educators who repeat them in the generous belief that they merely seek to reenforce the rigorous cultivation of wisdom, unwittingly add impetus to the attacks. Thus when Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California, echoes the Hutchins schools in a demand for disciplined thinking and for abandoning "so-called progressive education," Paul Mallon, a Hearst syndicated columnist, uses him as an authority to assail education and educational expenditures. Blaming deficient scholarship, juvenile delinquency, vandalism, breakdown of character, and lack of integrity on progressive education and failure to discipline, Mr. Mallon shows his hand when he objects to increased expenditure for playgrounds with the argument that "economies often instill personal integrity and character, but money generally corrupts youth," and when he complains that "we sacrificed the ideals of workmanship and scholarship to the ideal of numbers. We got to turning out three or four times as many students, but they were less than half educated." Moreover, Mr. Mallon's articles in pamphlet form have been widely circulated among teachers in New York schools by the *Journal-American*.

Within the educational world itself there is another tendency which becomes an obstacle to effective postwar planning for democratic education. Many still regard these years as a temporary storm at the end of which the old academic ways will be restored. College faculties and administrators who were most reluctant to convert the campuses to vital training centers for the war are now extremely skeptical about proposals for peace-time readjustment. They see threats to the existing structure offered by extension of vocational education, re-evaluation of traditional curricula, wider adult education and the use of colleges as community centers. Federal subsidy is itself a source of fear. Even such a liberal educator as Harry J. Carman,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dean of Columbia College, said at a regional conference of the Progressive Education Association in January 1944: "If the government of the United States is to dominate a situation and is to say to us, 'This is the kind of education we want you to give, this is the curriculum we designate, and these are the students and faculty members you are to have,' that is the first step in the direction of federal control of education in this country."

IN FACT, however, there is little ground for such hesitancies and such fears. Educators have rarely had such a propitious time and such pressing obligation to exercise creative energy in fashioning an educational system to meet the needs of the country. For there is major agreement on the wide prospects for education and a general readiness to support it among progressive wings of government, business, and labor.

A sober survey of progressive government activity gives no ground for fears of federal dictation or government apathy. The Roosevelt administration has to its credit a sound educational perspective and a serious attempt to carry it out. The National Resources Planning Board, basing itself on a survey of American needs, opened the perspective of education from the cradle to the grave for all capable of profiting by it; the report of the Osborn committee on the educational needs of returning servicemen, President Roosevelt's reaffirmation of the "right to a good education" as one of the guarantees under the second Bill of Rights, "under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all, regardless of station, race, or creed," are major contributions to progress. There have been various legislative attempts to lay the ground for such education. Thus the Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck bill sought to provide $300,000,000 of federal aid to schools, particularly in the South and other underprivileged areas. A demagogic strategem in the Senate defeated this bill, but it is not yet dead. A series of bills were introduced on servicemen's education, whose provisions were finally incorporated in the GI Omnibus Bill dealing with veterans' problems. In spite of the gauntlet of anti-administration Democrats and budgeteering Republicans which the original proposals had to run on various committees, and the fund-slashing by the House of Representatives under Rankin's leadership, the bill as passed provides considerable educational benefits for many veterans. In New York State, the Board of Regents has proposed a vast expansion of educational services, including a tremendous increase of scholarships and the establishment of twenty-two post-high school institutes of Applied Arts and Sciences. The institutes will offer two-year courses in the fields of dietetics, radio, and electrical technology, hospital and laboratory work, transportation, communication and electronics, and various other technical and semi-professional fields; half the curriculum will be general education in the sciences, English, social science, and liberal arts. These excellent developments have been seriously hampered, however, by Governor Dewey's economy program.

The attitude of realistic business groups today is a far cry from the demand of the New York Chamber of Commerce in the thirties for the virtual reduction of public education to the three R's. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States recognizes that "One paramount lesson which the war has given the nation is that with proper training American workers increasingly can be the most productive in the world." Accordingly its Committee on Education recommends, in a pamphlet on *Retraining War Workers for Peacetime Activities*, "a better understanding of the educational needs by business and workers" and "a longer range view of the return to business from the investment it makes in education, with proper precautions that such money as is devoted to education be spent so that the maximum cultural and economic progress of the community be assured to the people." Realistic businessmen will see the need for teaching the contemporary civilization of our allies, because they expect to do good business with Russians, Chinese, and Africans. And in the national market they are keenly sensitive to the expansion of skills required for maintenance of increased productivity. But there is a danger that they may still desire to accomplish results with limited budgets. The facile assumptions of the Chamber of Commerce's Education Committee (for example, that "institutions of higher education undoubtedly will have available ample facilities"), the tendency to rely solely on local as against national planning, the readiness to employ vestibule schools where presumably the narrow vocational emphasis will be stronger, show how hard old economy habits die. Educators have the serious but necessary educational task of showing realistic businessmen that educational expansion is implied in the long-range view they have accepted.

LABOR has, of course, always been the most solid bulwark of public education; and today it appreciates the fact that education must play a crucial role in the postwar world. The National Educational Association, in fighting for federal aid to education, found the CIO throughout the country its most valuable ally. In its drive for the reelection of President Roosevelt and for progressive congressmen and state legislators, labor as a whole is mobilizing against the Rankins, the Deweys, and the Tafts who are precisely the ones who are thwarting educational expansion. But over and above all this labor ought to play a more direct role in shaping educational policy and in executing educational plans. For labor has a stake not only in the *extent* of education but in the *kind* of education. It can call for an educational system in keeping with a world of peace and security. It can call for the teaching of equality of opportunity for all national, religious, and racial groups, both as requisite for full employment of our human resources and as a basis of national political unity. It can insist on an understanding of American institutions as a basis for an extended political and economic democracy. It can ask for teaching the cultures of other peoples as a basis for international understanding and cooperation. It can safeguard the principles of a broad educational process which is not narrowly vocational but incorporates the wealth of our cultural past. It can demand a democratic set-up in the schools so that labor's children shall participate in a living democracy from the outset.

Labor must work out its own instruments for such participation in shaping education. Perhaps a good start would be provided by setting up active education committees in the various unions. These could make their union membership aware of educational needs and appropriate legislative measures. There is no reason why in New York State, for example, the unions should not take an immediate detailed interest in shaping the program of the proposed institutes of applied arts and sciences, or of such schools as that of Labor-Industrial Relations authorized by the state at Cornell University. But most important at the present moment is the clarification of issues so as to show the intimate relation that exists between educational problems and a democratic and fully productive postwar America.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE VICTORY OF BRETTON WOODS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

BEGINNING just after the Republican convention and continuing through the Democratic, in all for twenty-one days, the United Nations stabilization conference at Bretton Woods offered the world something new in the way of smoke-filled rooms.

Out of the formal diplomatic language of the verbatim minutes of the closing session, there exudes an amazing amount of warmth and wisdom, and flashes of a hardy humor that apparently is bomb-proof and quisling-resistant. After saying that "no similar conference within memory has achieved such a bulk of lucid, solid construction" Lord Keynes professed to be "greatly encouraged by the critical, skeptical, and even carping spirit in which our proceedings have been watched in the outside world. How much better," he said, "that our projects should begin in disillusionment than they should end in it." But of all that was said, the pithiest remark was that of Mr. Keilhau of Norway. Speaking of the agreed-on drafts of a fund and a bank, he said: "It will not be easy for any parliament to reject those two drafts. I should like to say that 'back to chaos' would not be a popular slogan in days to come."

I have spoken to several who attended the conference, including one of the lawyers Lord Keynes talked about. He told this Keynes story: "When I first visited Mr. Morgenthau accompanied only by my secretary," Lord Keynes said, "the boys in your Treasury curiously inquired, 'Where is your lawyer?' When it was explained that I had none, 'Who, then, does your thinking for you?' was the rejoinder." Even the lawyer got pretty emotional about the conference. Now if you read the Hearst and McCormick press, or the New York *Times*, you got the impression of almost nothing but dissension, until the closing session. The report I get is one of the staffs and delegates of forty-four nations working feverishly for agreement against a deadline—including Republican Senators and Representatives, whom Harry White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, smartly put to work on committees on the theory that secret diplomacy becomes honest work when you're taking part in it. They were determined to work out a plan with as much justice to all as possible—and Great Britain was as cooperative as any of them on basic policies. It became therefore "a conference unlike any other—I saw finance ministers working in shirtsleeves until three and four in the morning." They were working not against one another, but with one another. The results were just as unpredicted and astounding to the world as the agreement reached at Teheran.

But because they all won together does not mean that the delegates to Bretton Woods have wholly defeated the diehards and negotiated peace crowd at home. In England the situation is much like the situation here. There is a clique, mostly within the government there—not in general outside (the press was split but in the majority of instances favorable to the conference) which would prefer to depend on exploitation of colonies, barter deals like those with which Germany used to tie so many national economies to hers, and competitive depreciation of currencies. The countries don't have to ratify the drafts. There is an alternative. The alternative is to return to methods fostering imperialism and war.

THE chances are, however, that the delegates of other countries will be smarter about pushing for enabling legislation than the administration here. For, on top of the victory of Bretton Woods, and it must have been overwhelming for Russell Porter of the *Times* to report primly there was "a general feeling that the conference was a success," Secretary Morgenthau agreed to the plan of doing nothing about it in Congress until after November.

This is difficult to understand. Here is a man who returns to Washington glowing with the effects of what was, among other things, a great personal triumph. This conference was his brainchild. He gave the idea to the President, who called the nations in on it some two years ago. During those two years the technicians and the diplomats—and the lawyers, despite Lord Keynes' gentle chiding—of forty-four nations kept popping into Washington, wringing their hands, and saying, "But here is our problem. What about this?" And something would be worked out. It has meant unremitting work of economists and staffs in all these countries. Everything that could happen was foreseen, worried over, figured out. Finally it is such a success that Senator Tobey, a Republican who prides himself on never letting private enterprise down, was carried away by the thought of this historic conference taking place in his own native New Hampshire. So much so that he began one sentence of his speech as follows: "As we confer here today, amidst the eternal hills, inspired by the sublime beauty around us, and as the shadows of passing clouds above leave their impress for a moment on the slopes of yonder mountains. . . ." He ended the same sentence by alluding to "the great opportunity which is ours to displace doubt and cynicism with hope and confidence." And there was a lot in between. Well, however they expressed it, with or without the Senator's effulgence, all the delegates had that hope and confidence.

So you ask people at the Treasury why the decision has been made not to follow up the initiative that was won at the conference, particularly with the congressional delegates, of which Republicans and Democrats are in equal number. They murmur that the President and Mr. Morgenthau want to keep this conference out of partisan politics. How is the issue to be kept before the public then, and workers and businessmen alike made to realize that the issues of Bretton Woods mean, to the first, pork chops and potatoes, and to the second, the means of keeping private initiative afloat? Certainly the issues must be explained, they should be—but as to how, they are vague.

Of course the Republicans are in happy agreement on the strategy of waiting until after the elections to begin buttonholing Congressmen on whether they want an expanding economy, which means jobs for all, or whether they want to go into the apple-stand business themselves. And the portly Vandenberg figure and the less ample one of Taft are casting shadows over the historic proposals which have nothing to do with Senator Tobey's passing clouds. If the decision is retained, these gentlemen can wait until elections are almost upon us and then blame the administration for not urging legislation to carry out the Bretton Woods proposals. Vandenberg used the same de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vice in claiming the administration was at fault because we were approaching X-day with no reconversion legislation—and at the same time he went on record against the Kilgore reconversion bill.

HARRY WHITE was the only one who thought the conference would get to the bank at all. The press was predicting it would break up without even the stabilization fund being agreed on. The significance of the bank escaped attention pretty much. It is just as important as the fund. The fund alone could not operate. All the fund can do is on a short run basis. It can help a country running into an unfavorable balance of trade, but the bank can make loans big enough for projects to develop the productive resources of devastated countries and those with "young economies," as the delegates put it.

One of the fights was over how much the $9,100,000,000 bank can lend. It was decided it can lend only one hundred percent of its capital—which makes it a very conservative institution. Ordinarily banks used to keep only about twenty percent of their funds liquid. Here is the way the bank is to work. Only twenty percent of the total subscribed by the forty-four nations is actually collected—except in case of default. This twenty percent is all that may be used in making direct loans. But the rest may be used to make guarantees. Say that the Polish government wants to borrow some money. If J. P. Morgan wants to lend it and can do so without any help, fine and dandy, the bank will be happy to be counted out. But if Mr. Morgan is not too certain about things in Poland, he may want a guarantee. After all, the bank won't be in the position he might be in of having to say, what in hell is going on in Poland, for it will know. There are those daily reports. Very well, Mr. Morgan wants a guarantee. Then the bank must find his interest rates and terms reasonable. It must approve, moreover, the particular project for which the money is wanted by the Poles. (If it is for buying dollar bills to pay propaganda writers, no soap.) The project must contribute to the nation's productivity. If all is well, the bank guarantees the loan, and the Polish government has to guarantee it if it is to be used by a private firm. This means that if something does go wrong, the unforeseen happens and Poland defaults, well, instead of American investors holding the sack, the bank can call upon all the forty-four nations to cough up some part of their eighty percent of uncollected subscriptions. The same would be true if the Polish government decided to pay for a sewage system by floating bond issues, and gets a guarantee from the bank to make good the bonds.

Contrast this with the way it used to be done. Under the old system we asked the businessman to take not only the economic risk, but the political risk involved. Under the bank Mr. Morgan, by not taking the political risk, won't be willy-nilly up to his neck in the politics of Poland, or Italy, or China, and our relations with them. In the second place, instead of J. Pierpont's charging seven and eight percent and then resorting to prayer in the hope of getting it back, the only terms the bank would approve will be "reasonable." This means maybe three percent, maybe more, depending on what rate it can borrow money on. Actually the old interest rate for foreign loans used to be more than seven or eight percent, because instead of selling an obligation at 100, banks often would sell at ninety. Besides that, something often went into the pockets of officials of a government hanging on for dear life in a contracting economy—so that the people would wind up with about sixty percent.

UNDER the new plan, if one country is in trouble it is immediately brought to the attention of all, who assume a collective responsibility. But in the old days, far from there being a necessary project, we used to lend countries money in order for their concerns to buy our goods. The terms were often so usurious that they couldn't pay them off, and investment companies, having loaded them on the public, often weren't too concerned. Today Americans are not as starry-eyed as they were in the twenties. You couldn't sell a foreign bond to even the most unsuspecting widow today. So what do the banks stand to lose? With a government guarantee, plenty of American investors will be glad to put their money into foreign loans at lower interest rates. As of today there is a lot of accumulated capital, and I'm not talking about the little fellow. Corporations have been able through our tax laws to put aside reserves for reconversion. So in the postwar period if some of this capital in the possession of the wealthy doesn't go into foreign loans it may tend to remain idle, thus contributing to deflation (which would be as bad then as inflation is undesirable now) and in general being about as costly as idle manpower is to a capitalist economy. In fact, it breeds idle manpower and depressions.

This international bank will not rule out the continued use of our Export-Import bank. The latter will continue, for instance, to make loans to Latin American governments to finance trade with our industries. It is like buying vegetables from a greengrocer and buying staples from a chain store. By and large we will use the Export-Import Bank, probably, as a means of financing American business to undertake foreign developments, to industrialize countries, and for short-term loans to finance foreign trade. For the immediate period consumers' goods will be in demand, everything from brassieres and overalls to kitchen ware and plumbing. But whereas Belgium or France would be ready to pay almost immediately for, say, shoes, the Export-Import Bank may finance a shoe manufacturer here to supply such trade, and reinsure itself through the international bank.

On the other hand, the cost of reconstruction must be a long-run affair and would be logically borne by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Perhaps a country will want heavy machinery for making automobiles, but first it will have to restore its water system and put in a new sewage plant. These obviously won't pay for themselves, but they are essential, and if their cost is borne by the devastated countries by themselves, the international trade of the whole world would be burdened by the poverty of seven or eight countries. But after the peace becomes stabilized, there will be a willingness to lend money on ten-year terms for public utility installations, machine tools, steel plants, etc.

Whether the government or the world bank handles these will depend on the political situation. For instance, in spite of the risk involved, the government might say to a company here, "It's a smart idea, go ahead and develop your steel plant in India, and if you're worried, we'll insure half of it." But if a long-term loan is required to set up a clothing industry in Australia to utilize her surplus of wool, the world bank should make the loan.

The world bank and fund, then, would mean a fuller development of private enterprise because they would be a means—one of many steps which must be taken, however—of bringing about the stabilization in which private enterprise can function effectively.

This is the first of two articles on the Bretton Woods conference.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT THE ROBOT BOMB CAN'T DO

By KURT CONWAY

THE Nazis, like most reactionary regimes in modern times when they find themselves at the end of their rope, have lost not only the main body of their armies, their factories, sources of raw materials, and, of late, the allegiance of some of their top men, but also most of whatever reason they may have possessed. Staggering to the point where they are at the mercy of the quaint notion that every extra day in power is a gain to themselves, they have unleashed forces of vengeance that, in the end, by clamping ever tighter the lid of repression, guarantees not only their utter annihilation but also the extreme violence of its final expression.

One of the strangest, least effective, but most spectacular forms of this desperation is *Vergeltungswaffe Einst,* Vengeance Weapon No. 1, a totally blind, extremely powerful winged bomb, heavily loaded with high explosive and propelled by a jet-reaction motor, science's latest method of aerial propulsion.

Its appearance was expected but dramatic. The first of these bombs came hurtling out of the east ten days after the beginning of the invasion of Europe, on the morning of June 15. The immediate reaction by the British authorities was a very matter-of-fact told-you-so attitude, for they had been busily engaged for almost a year before in bombing the "rocket" coast of France from where the original rumors about the machines had emanated, in an attempt to destroy the launching bases, dropping a weighty load of bombs in the process. Simultaneously they clamped down a tight censorship on all reports concerning the casualties resulting from the attacks.

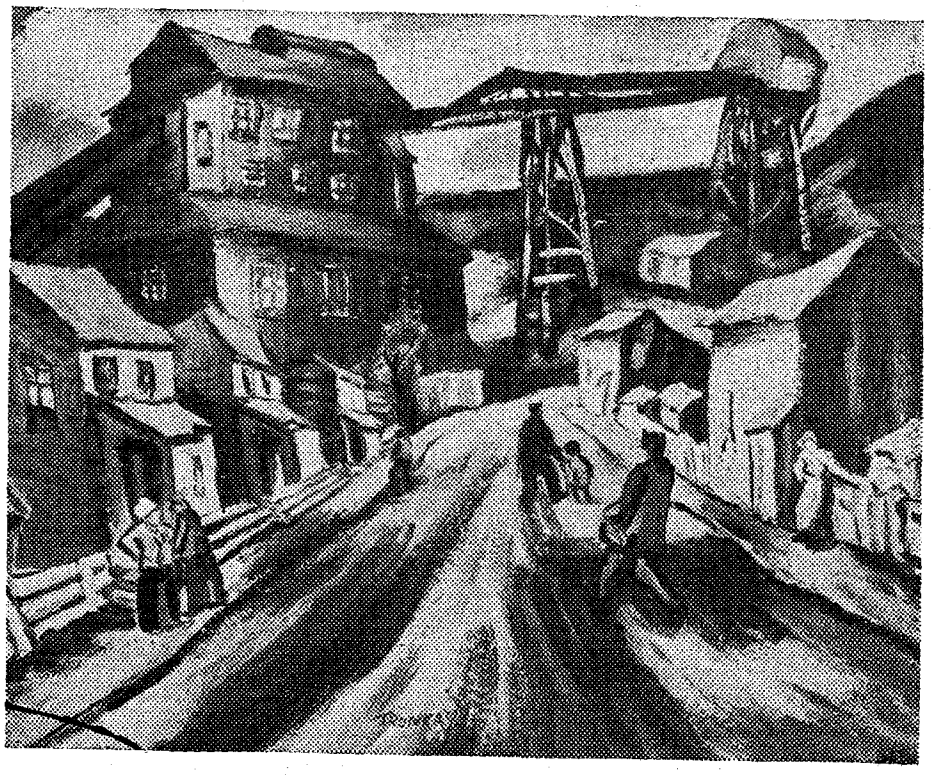
Speculation on the size, shape, number, and method of propulsion of V1 broke out like a summer rash. Most of the eye-witness reports were at first probably deliberately inaccurate to evade the censorship, but a good many of them were almost too silly for words. According to some correspondents they weren't much bigger than an armed bat and had a white electric light glowing at the tail. Others saw them as big as pterodactyls, active as eels and romanticized them to the point where it would have been easy to imagine them armed with snapping rows of teeth.

British ack-ack finally shot down a few more or less intact and it was at last possible to get a really good idea of what the winged death looked like, though release of the actual facts and pictures waited upon a belated report by Churchill to Parliament wherein he partially lifted the veil.

The facts when boiled down were simple enough. V1 was nothing more or less than an aerial torpedo with wings. The fuselage was about twenty-two feet long, while the wing span measured somewhere in the neighborhood of sixteen feet. The body of the machine carried approximately a long ton of high explosive in its war head, enough gasoline to propel the machine to a maximum range of 150 miles, two spherical compressed air tanks to work the automatic pilot, air-driven gyroscopes and height and range-setting controls. Attached to the long, thin fuselage is a rather ungraceful, cylindrical tube, shaped somewhat like a stovepipe. This construction is set above the body and presumably held to it by powerful steel bands. The stovepipe affair, whatever its aerodynamic appearance, is the mechanism's most important part, for it is that section of the machine that gets it where it is going. Buried compactly within the cylinder are an impulse duct, jet-reaction engine and injection jets.

THE bomb's aerial drive is almost absurdly simple, and beyond doubt is a piece of machinery of a high order of efficiency. Designed on the jet-reaction principle, it literally pushes the winged devil through the atmosphere with an extremely powerful blast of superheated air. No one can yet tell whether or not the method is an improvement over America's Bell-built jet fighter plane and its motor. The facts on that point will probably have to wait until the jet ship is sent into action, shot down or captured intact by the enemy, whereupon all barriers are considered down, in accordance with US military procedure in such matters, and the plane's specifications, performance, and armament will be made public knowledge. The chances are that it is not superior in any way to American jet-engine designs for the simple reason that our plane designers are as good as the Germans' and vice versa.

According to *Flight,* the authoritative British aviation journal, the forward end of the propulsive tube is a grill con-



"Coal Town," gouache by Abraham Tromka.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taining a series of air inlets resembling the business end of a harmonica. Shutters of spring steel control these, while fuel sprays are set just behind them. Pressure of air at the front forces the shutters open as flight is attained and air enters the tube, where it is mixed with gasoline sprayed from fine jets to create an explosive mixture. Here it is ignited and the succeeding explosion closes the air shutters and by the pressure wave created at the front end causes the combustion products to be violently ejected from the open end. As the internal pressure in the tube falls by reflection of the pressure wave, the series of laps are opened again by the pressure of the surrounding air, a new charge is admitted and the operation repeated in rapid succession.

V1, according to the most accurate information, is launched from two types of platforms, one a portable wheel-and-track affair largely demountable, sometimes set out in the open, again within the bowels of a cliff or a mountain. The other type, less often encountered by Allied troops as they advance are large, concrete runways, which from the nature of their construction rouse disquieting hints of the existence of bombs much larger than the ones presently raising hell in Britain.

The 2,000 pounders are guided to their destination by automatic pilots, direction being achieved through a pneumatically operated mechanism in the tail controlling a rudder and elevators, as the wings of the bomb possess no ailerons.

At present, defense against V1 is limited to four means: ack-ack, fighter planes, balloon barrage, and pure luck, as one of the bombs occasionally falls into the Channel or explodes in the air through failure of one or more of its parts. Thus far, and according to the latest information the Germans are increasing the weight of the explosive charge and adding incendiary elements to the mixture, a sizable number are getting through coordinated defenses to wreak destruction. In point of lives lost the figures are a little better, bomb for bomb, than those relating to plane-borne aerial bombing. The reason for this is, of course, that a bomb dropped from a plane has some degree of accuracy on its course to the target, while V1 has none whatever. It is, therefore, mainly in housing, public buildings and factories, hospitals and crowded streets that the overwhelming weight of destruction rests. Even here, in view of the generally low-destruction-point value of air bombing it is possible to say that the effects of the attacks are certainly no worse than the most terrible conducted by regular bombing planes during the blitz in 1940. This is due entirely to the fact that the bombs, lacking remote control of any kind (in contradistinction to the German *glider* bomb which is under control of its parent ship as long as the ship keeps within sight of the bomb) and being totally blind, can only be aimed in the general direction of where they are going, which is, thus far, the metropolitan London area, and can have no specific targets. Havoc is therefore haphazard and not annihilating. As Professor J. B. S. Haldane has pointed out, V1 is subject to very large directional error factors caused by atmospheric conditions, lack of proper guides, mathematical limitations, etc. It is obvious from this that the bombs possess the accuracy of a spray of machine gun bullets fired at a penny from a distance of several hundred yards—which means they have no accuracy at all.

EXAMINATION of all the facts definitely forces a conclusion that there is nothing new about V1, nothing that can be considered decisive or decisively damaging to the Allied invasion of Europe and nothing to have prevented the instrument from having been used as long ago as World War I, considering the fact that the jet-propulsion motor itself is a very old idea, antedating 1914 by almost a decade. In point of fact the Germans did use something very much like it in the Paris gun, a super-cannon capable of a range of about seventy-five miles, subject to much the same limitations of fire-power as is V1 and, likewise, totally indecisive in its effect upon Allied war strength.

Why then are the Nazis, certainly no fools at short-range projects, using a weapon which in reality is not prolonging the war one day more on the Western Front? The answer, simply, is that V1 fills for them, no matter how temporarily or ineffectually, a military and political vacuum. V1 attempts to replace the Luftwaffe on the Western Front, where it does not exist and cannot exist so long as the *whole* of the German air force is flying where it is really needed to halt the destruction of Germany from the most dangerous direction, i.e., the Soviet Union and the Red Army. At best, however, V1 can do this poorly and with neither tactical nor strategic success. Planes of any sort in war have been proved by experience useful largely on the fighting lines and Britain is no longer a front line. The Allied armies in Normandy are not being attacked by the flying bombs for the very good reason that they are moving, and objects in motion cannot be hit by V1, except accidentally. In addition, it would be impossible for the Germans to move the launching platforms backward fast enough to keep up with their retreat. Artillery performs the task of V1 well enough for them on the battlefield and is infinitely more accurate.

London alone has been V1's objective. Leningrad, Moscow, Sevastopol, Stalingrad—cities the Germans wanted as much as they wanted London—never even saw one. The Germans did not need V1 at any of these places. At all of them they had their artillery and their Luftwaffe (the flying artillery) in numbers sufficient to outweigh the firepower of the biggest smash possible by flying bombs. And they were besieging the Russian cities. They are not besieging London except in a very limited sense, for they haven't any notion or any chances of taking it.

The British first heard of the robot bomb shortly after Stalingrad, the turning point of the war, when even the stupidest Nazi general must have realized in the back of his mind that the game was up, that Germany had lost any further possibility of winning the war on the offensive and could from then on rely only on defensive tactics to gain her objectives. It was, of course, too late even for this. The high command of the Wehrmacht, or, at any rate its most alert and militarily and politically intelligent components knew that from then

(*Continued on page* 30)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BLACKMAILING HOLLYWOOD

By BRUCE MINTON

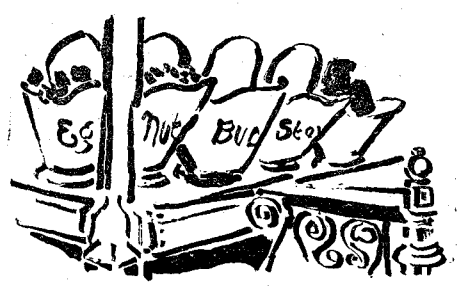
Hollywood.

THE Hearst press and that retired statesman, Martin Dies, have heaped fulsome testimonials on the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals (the MPA). Praise from such sources is a useful tip-off. The evening before Vice President Wallace spoke in Hollywood last February, the MPA, organized in careful secrecy, made its formal bow to the public ("the canaille," in MPA terms). At the meeting, Hearstman Rupert Hughes joined a sprinkling of big directors and top-priced writers to present to an apathetic world the MPA's statement of principles: "We believe in, and like, the American way of life . . . freedom to speak, to think, to worship, and to govern ourselves as individuals. . . . We find ourselves in sharp revolt against a rising tide of Communism, fascism, and kindred beliefs. . . . We resent the growing impression that this industry is made up of, and dominated by, Communists, radicals, and crackpots. . . . We refuse to permit the efforts of Communist, fascist, or other totalitarian-minded groups to pervert this powerful medium into an instrument for the dissemination of un-American ideas and beliefs."

For all the demagogy, the implications of this wordy proclamation were clear enough. The initial sneer at fascism was protective coloration; from the first meeting on, MPA officers and speakers harped exclusively on their hatred of Roosevelt and "Communism." The Alliance made much of its political innocence: thereupon, MPAers threw their considerable weight against the Roosevelt administration, and against all progressive candidates for political office who offered genuine support to the war effort. They clamored particularly for censorship (by the MPA) to eradicate from motion pictures any trace of "dangerous thoughts."

By a curious coincidence, MPA speakers popped up almost exclusively at meetings arranged and attended by former America Firsters. Two of their most loquacious missionaries—Leilla Rogers, mother of Ginger, and (no relation) Howard Emmett Rogers, high-paid writer at MGM—scurried from one defeatist get-together to another frothing against the Red menace. The Nazis and Japanese inspired them with no alarm; only Roosevelt and his "Communist New Dealers" seemed ominous. The Rogers duet repeated most of the calumnies originally aired by Gerald L. K. Smith, Hermann Schwinn (formerly West Coast Bund leader), and George Deatherage (on trial in Washington for sedition); they screamed "Communist" domination of the motion picture industry, and they defined a "Communist" as the fellow who put progressive ideas—or, for that matter, any idea not definitely subversive—into pictures. MPA speakers skirted dangerously close to outright anti-Semitism; so conscious were they of their own frankness that they sent out flying squads to ballyhoo the presence of the MPA board of two or three "safe" Jews who served to excuse any subsequent slur against the Jewish people—such as Howard Rogers' crack about the audience at a liberal meeting he had spied upon: "All those people looked as though they had the same father and mother."

One thing the MPA insists on is its non-political character. For a non-political group, the MPA appears too preoccupied with a passion to defeat Roosevelt, to find some way to save defeated Representative Costello, and to poohpooh the war. Howard Emmett Rogers eschewed politics in his talk to a Republican women's club this June. He merely discussed "The Threat of Political Action by the Unions," urging the most energetic campaign to slip Costello back into Congress. Mr. Rogers was introduced as "a very able speaker with a terrific knowledge of the political activities of the CIO, and all political activities in the unions and subversive groups"—which provides a glimpse of Mr. Rogers' approach to organized labor. Mr. Rogers is an avid student and quoter of Eugene Lyons, Max Eastman, and Ben Gitlow; he is a crusader for free speech who insisted that "Communists" Drew Pearson and Walter Duranty be banned from the radio.



Helen West Heller

At a meeting of the American Defense League in Hollywood (the League, incidentally, is composed of remnants of America First, Mothers of America, and other groups inspired by Elizabeth Dilling, Robert Noble, and T. W. Hughes, organizer of the League to Save America First), the faded and saccharine Mrs. Rogers discussed high-falutin' ideas under the title "Issues in Art." She advocated censorship of all films—by the MPA. "The Communists are working constantly and their propaganda is creeping subtly into all forms of art," she warned. "You have seen it in sculpture, in painting, etc. And the danger is that so many people do not recognize the sinister Communist influence in art when they see it." Mrs. Rogers concluded that motion pictures must be censored by some alert mind like herself. She said *Tender Comrade* (daughter Ginger starring) was censored by the MPA—but not thoroughly enough because it still reeks of Communism. But, she found comfort in the fact that "since the Motion Picture Alliance started there have been definite results. Stories that were being considered for early production have been gone over, and when doubtful, shelved." She dramatically demanded that motion pictures "leave our minds alone!"

HOLLYWOOD is the scene of a major anti-fascist struggle. The stakes are immense. No medium reaches as many people in this country as the motion picture; no medium can wield a more powerful influence over the thinking and attitudes of Americans. The average movie released by Hollywood is seen by approximately 20,000,000 people. A hit picture is attended by close to 100,000,000 people. No book, no play, no poem, no canvas, no statue, no speech, no radio program talks to such a vast audience. It is the realization of the motion picture's impact on the nation that motivates the MPA to launch a campaign to keep the movies from conveying any sentiment which appears dangerous to Mr. Hearst and Mr. Dies. To the arbiters of taste, an idea is in itself suspect. They rule out as intolerable any mention of the fight against fascism; they ban praise of democracy and the demo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cratic process, or discussion of the rights of the minority peoples (especially, the rights of the Negro people), or any honest portrayal of the labor movement, or any thought which looks toward a rational peace. Life itself appears "radical" to these self-appointed czars of public taste; reality must be prevented from obtruding itself on motion pictures. Only tinsel and escapism, only the myths of the good old Hoover days and the glories of the street-corner apple sellers are fit ideals for public consumption. The suffering of the war is to be negated, perverted into a boy-girl romance. No thought must question the "verities" of a world in which the worker shall be chained to his machine and paid substandard wages; the farmer shall be tied to his land; the small enterpriser shall be expropriated; the intellectual shall compose odes in praise of the masters; the foreigner shall be subjugated; the Negro, Jew, Mexican, the dark-skinned peoples of the world shall be branded "inferiors" and granted the beneficence of slavery; and the world shall be regimented by a strong America itself blessed with totalitarianism.

The motion picture is the most ubiquitous and convincing propaganda medium. Control of the industry and dictation of the contents of the movies would provide reaction with an almost irresistible weapon with which to mould public opinion. So long as producers concern themselves with never-never inanities, the motion picture remains a source of profit which at the same time provides the public with circuses to distract their thoughts from the real world. The moment motion pictures venture into the realm of ideas, reaction takes fright. A picture discussing the war and its meaning, a picture that dares hint that our allies are people like ourselves, a picture that exposes fascism and challenges Americans to think in terms of higher standards of living and a lasting peace—such pictures are naturally intolerable to Hearst and Dies and their MPA disciples. Pictures with content stimulate reflection and an appreciation of democracy; but they do not build anti-Roosevelt sentiment and they do not inspire pogroms against the trade unions. Edwin Lahey of the Chicago *Daily News* reported that "McGuinness [chairman of the MPA board] holds firmly to the belief that entertainment is the sole purpose of the movies, except for educational and documentary pictures which are labelled as such." Mr. McGuinness is worried over the question that bothers all MPAers: How defeat Teheran and a meaningful peace unless motion pictures are harnessed to deceit and used to misinform and to mislead?

UNLIKE the fascist-minded groups who still are able to operate in finance and industry, the clique that would take over the movies are more immediately affected by people's action. The product of the motion picture industry is submitted directly to the people. Their response can be decisive—if they register their opinion in a decisive manner. The MPA is helpless against a people alert to contents and implications of films offered in neighborhood theaters. Demand for better pictures, support of those which forward democracy, protest and condemnation of those that pervert truth, have an immediate impact. The danger at the moment is not that the MPA will attempt to produce openly fascist pictures, but rather that it will rob pictures of any intelligent subject matter.

In the past months there has been a growing desire by certain forces within the industry to mark time; those in control are undecided how and when to convert the industry to new ideas and new themes necessitated by the approach of victory in the war and the problems arising out of a just peace. The MPA seeks to take advantage of this hesitation. On the whole, most producers have stood up heroically to MPA blackmail and bludgeoning; only a handful have given ground, usually willing to purge material which might arouse MPA wrath if not actually seeking MPA approval by making outright reactionary films. Yet the MPA has hopes of cashing in on present indecision. While so far MPA successes have been limited, an occasional achievement in censoring forward-looking ideas encourages the crusade against everything progressive. No matter how insignificant or how negative MPA successes have been, each *coup* makes subsequent victories easier.

The response in Hollywood to the MPA has been more than heartening. Actually, the MPA has spurred unity among the democratic forces within the industry. The MPA influenced certain producers and some of the top owners of major companies. But for the thousands who make the films—actors and writers, directors and the host of technical workers from camera men and sound engineers to electricians and carpenters—the MPA has clarified their stake in and their responsibility toward picture making. The unions closed ranks almost spontaneously; they recognized the menace of MPA fascism despite the camouflage of the MPA's blurb to "preserve American ideals." Instead of being willing merely to build defenses, the unions have taken the offensive.

Last month, one thousand delegates representing seventeen motion picture guilds and unions met to fuse their unity. The conference was the most inspiring ever held by motion picture workers. The speeches and resolutions were mature and precise; the continuations committee set up at the conference and known as the Council of Hollywood Guilds and Unions, assures a strengthening of the initial unity, and promises further and ever more effective action. Already the Screen Actors Guild, which held aloof from the conference, has joined the Council. A letter has gone out to the unions throughout the nation warning against the MPA and calling for support in combatting this fascist clique. But to my mind, the meeting had another even more important aspect: the seventeen unions accepted responsibility in a significant field of American culture. They recognized the inseparability of the content of motion pictures and the struggle for democracy; they asserted their concern not only with the MPA's union-breaking and political misleadership, but with its obscurantism.

When motion picture workers participated in defeating Representative Costello in the California primaries, they took a step forward. The desire of the overwhelming majority in the industry to strengthen the Roosevelt administration and to work for the President's re-election is a gauge of mounting political understanding. And recognition of the MPA's threat against the unions and the nation's postwar security, against an American institution which if it does not serve the people will be used against them, is a momentous advance.

The MPA counts on the Hearsts, the McCormicks, and the Gerald L. K. Smiths. Cissie Patterson's Washington *Times-Herald* smeared *Wilson* before it was seen or released. The MPA counts on the treason-mongers among the Socialists and defeatists. It is no accident that the Social-Democratic *New Leader* proudly carries an article by James McGuinness, the chairman of the MPA board, in a recent issue. The unions, for their part, have a right to expect public response in support of their fight to prevent the fascists from taking over the motion picture industry. The MPA is no local Hollywood bugaboo. Its victory or defeat will help condition the future of the nation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I LIKE BROWDER'S BOOK

By JUDGE PATRICK H. O'BRIEN

Mr. O'Brien is judge of the Probate Court of Wayne County, Mich., which includes the city of Detroit. He is a former attorney general of Michigan and is a leading Democrat of that state.

I HAVE read with deep interest *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, by Earl Browder. There are many books and pamphlets now appearing dealing with the problems of war and peace. I cannot conceive, however, of any discussion of these problems that could be more comprehensive, reasonable, and farseeing than the above entitled work by Earl Browder. In the beginning, Mr. Browder requests the reader to abandon his gratuitous assumption that he has carefully read the Declaration of Teheran. So, the reader is asked to read it again if he would find its true meaning and implications as an Anglo-Soviet-American alliance.

At the time this book was written, the Western Front had been determined upon, but had not been started. The Normandy invasion is now firmly established and, at this writing, one of the main objectives of Teheran—the defeat of Germany—is within eyeshot of realization. Significantly, Japan is not mentioned in the Declaration of Teheran for the reason that the Soviet Union is not at war with Japan. The reconstruction of Europe will, therefore, probably begin even before the war with Japan is ended. Mr. Browder insists upon self-determination for the British, French, and Dutch colonies of Asia and practically the same thing for the French and British colonies in Africa. This is a large order, and I am afraid that the main objective of independence for these colonies is still in the far distant future. In his work, Mr. Browder sees a possible collision between Great Britain and America for the trade of South America. He recommends a reasonable division of commercial opportunities between Great Britain and America. As to American relations with the Soviet Union, the author thinks there ought to be genuine cooperation and a larger feeling of tolerance and consideration given to the Communists of the United States on his claim that, after all, they can offer many helpful suggestions even to the capitalists by reason of their close study of capitalism.

The book presents a broad economic program based upon government intervention if necessary to stimulate the development of foreign trade. Instead of talking in terms of four billion dollars a year, the author feels that a foreign trade of forty billion dollars a year will be necessary to preserve the capitalist system of industry in the United States.

There is a sincere note of welcome to industrial leaders of the type of Eric A. Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The text makes a plea for genuine cooperation on the part of capital with the labor unions in working out the problems of production and distribution in America. Mr. Johnston is quoted as saying, "No American president will ever again permit American citizens to be unemployed. They will be employed by business or they will be employed by the government."

I DO not agree with Mr. Browder's criticism of the two-party political structure in America. I do not believe that partisanship is a costly luxury. In fact, I cannot see how any real program of social and economic improvement can be put through as a political proposition except by a disciplined party organization. The adoption and implementation of the vast New Deal program by the Democratic administration during the past ten years is the best answer to the criticism of political parties. No such program could be achieved under a non-partisan administration. It takes discipline and organization relentlessly to carry through any program of social welfare.

On the whole, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace* is a most brilliant and valuable statement and analysis, as well as a contribution to the solution of the difficult postwar problems of our country and of the world. It should be required reading for every intelligent person who would truly evaluate the complex problems growing out of the approaching end of the war and the looming vista of peace.

"Dead Nazi," by Eugene Karlin.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR CALVINIST LEGACY II

By FRANCIS FRANKLIN

This is the second of two articles by Mr. Franklin on Calvinism and American democracy. The first appeared in the August 8 issue of NEW MASSES.

IN COMPARISON with Catholic doctrine, early Calvinism seems very harsh. Even at the period of its worst corruption, the Catholic Church was forgiving and tender toward ordinary human sin—so long as one did not attack the authority of the Church and its hierarchy. There was never a time when the Roman Church did not speak tenderly of the poor—even when it glorified their oppression and blessed armies raised to suppress their "heretical" movements. Orthodox Calvinism, on the other hand, seemed utterly devoid of any ordinary human compassion. Its moral code was uncompromising, fierce, and intolerant. It sent to the stake not only heretics, but women charged with adultery—in sharp contrast to the story told of Christ in the Gospels. Its God was no longer the loving Father, but a God of wrath.

Such was the early faith of large sections of the rising bourgeoisie, and it rallied to its church considerable numbers of simple middle class people. This was the doctrine of the Puritan theocracy of Massachusetts, and it remained the creed of those clergymen who became the chief lieutenants of the Federalist Party of Alexander Hamilton. Here we seem to be confronted by a mystery. How could it happen that under such doctrines a rising class could commence its struggle for power? And how could such teachings attract any except the wealthiest among the bourgeoisie?

In contrasting Calvinist "harshness" with Catholic "mercy," we must recall what Marx said about the early bourgeoisie. It fought against feudalism for a higher mode of production. It stripped of its halo the old mode of production, with its patriarchal and chivalric modes of expression so glaringly in conflict with its actual practice. It reduced all personal relations to naked cash relationships. Thus, it played a progressive role in exposing and attacking feudalism. But it must not be forgotten that Marx declared that "capital came into the world soiled with mire from top to toe, and oozing blood from every pore." Orthodox Calvinism was the perfect expression in religion of that phenomenon. In spite of this, it played a progressive role in undermining the old order and opening the pathway to future development. Its attractive power among the middle classes lay in this, that its doctrines of toil and thrift corresponded to the productive needs of commodity-producing society. Membership among the "elect" was open to all who accumulated "by their own efforts." Calvinism condemned the parasitical extravagance of hereditary feudal lords. Just as all the small producers were hoping to accumulate, so they hoped to be among the "elect." Thus, many among the poor found in Calvinism an instrument through which they hoped to rise and prosper. Its horrible doctrines for mankind as a whole were accepted so long as each of the faithful believed that he himself might be among the chosen few.

IT IS obvious that such doctrines could not continue to be held for very long by those who, in spite of living sober lives of toil and thrift, still did not prosper. Thus, at a very early date, heretical sects began splitting away from the official Calvinist faith.

The orthodox Calvinists who held the doctrines that have been described were known in Holland and Central Europe as the Reformed Church. In France, they were called Huguenots. They took the name of Presbyterians in Scotland and England. All sects of Calvinists were known under the blanket name of Puritans in England, although this was originally the name of the English Presbyterians. The Puritan church of Massachusetts was the same as the Presbyterian of England, and followed rigidly the views proclaimed by Calvin. (The American Presbyterians were never quite so harsh and unyielding.)

Gordon

By the time orthodox Calvinism established its theocracy in Massachusetts, many liberal trends had arisen within the Calvinist fold, and it was these which moved in the direction of democracy and thus of the more popular American faith. All of the latter took their start from the Independents of England.

The Independents were the really revolutionary groups among the English Puritans. In the course of the long and bitter struggles with Charles I, the program of the Presbyterians was to secure a limited monarchy. After the seizure of Charles I following the triumph of Cromwell's army, the Presbyterians or orthodox Calvinists tried to preserve the monarchy. To prevent this, Cromwell marched into Parliament and arrested the Presbyterians, who no longer represented the will of the English people. The Rump Parliament, which remained, consisted of Independents. They found Charles I, who had entered into secret relations with the French monarchy for the purpose of defeating his own people with foreign aid, guilty of treason. Thereupon they beheaded the king and established the Commonwealth, the first national bourgeois republic in modern history.

In pursuing their revolutionary aim of establishing a new state power, the Independents resurrected from the Old Testament the doctrine that the power of the sovereign is derived from a covenant between God and the people. This was the form of the compact theory of the state which preceded its secular form as presented by John Locke and developed in America by Jefferson. According to the Independent teaching, the sovereign, as well as the people, was bound by the covenant, which required him to uphold the law of God. For as long as the sovereign remained true to the covenant, the people were bound to obey. But when the sovereign broke the covenant, the people were free, and it became not only their right, but their religious duty to overthrow such a sinful prince, who was guilty of blasphemy and rebellion against God.

It was under this faith that the Independent armies of Cromwell marched

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into battle against their king. Independent preachers marched with the soldiers, exhorting them to courage through prayer and scripture, assuring the troops that they wielded the sword of the Lord. These preachers performed a function similar to that of Tom Paine in our Revolution and to the recent political commissars in the Soviet Red Army. Filled with the faith that they comprised the army of the Lord, Cromwell's troops marched into battle singing hymns.

This covenant theory of the state lay at the basis of the Mayflower Compact and many of the early forerunners of American state constitutions, such as the Fundamental Orders of Thomas Hooker. It was voiced very clearly by Roger Williams.

Under the impetus of this revolutionary theory, which was the development of a thought Jean Calvin had refused to elaborate, Independent Calvinists began to arrive at conclusions more and more radical and democratic. As Independent preachers pored over their Bibles and as Cromwell's soldiers talked around the campfires in the effort to find Biblical doctrines that threw light on their problems, they found passages that Calvin himself seemed to have ignored. Contemplating real life, increasing numbers observed that many who accumulated wealth did not lead such sober, thrifty, and industrious lives as did the poor. They came closer to the primitive Christian doctrine that it is the poor who are beloved of God. All the Calvinists continued to advocate toil, thrift, and sobriety. However, more and more of them came to the conclusion that it was peasants and artisans who really followed God's law. They resisted rule by the Board of Elders and the Presbyterian Synod within the church. They demanded rule by a majority vote of the church members. Thus congregationalism was born. The Congregationalists continued to support the idea of an established state church. They were ready to disfranchise all who did not belong to the Calvinist faith, but they fought for universal suffrage within the Puritan church.

THE bitter attacks launched by the orthodox Calvinists against Independents of all varieties and against Congregationalists in particular led many of the latter to question the whole idea of an established state church. Quoting the passages from the Bible about false prophets, they denied the right of any man to pose as an authority in interpreting the scriptures. All men alike were weak and frail. The Bible had been given for all to read. All were endowed by God with reason and conscience. No man could judge the sincerity of his brother's interpretation of God's law. Religious belief was, therefore, proclaimed to be a relation between man and his Maker. The civil authority could prohibit wrong-doing on the part of man against man, but it had no authority to search the heart and conscience of man, to usurp blasphemously the role of God, the sole judge of the correctness of man's faith. With these doctrines, certain Independents demanded separation of church and state and full religious liberty, along with universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press, and assembly. The Separatists were thus the true democrats that arose within the Calvinist fold, and it was they who were the forerunners of the Jeffersonians.

In their opposition to a state church, the Separatists opposed the custom of infant baptism, through which children were reared from childhood in the official church. Basing themselves on Biblical practice, they advocated baptism by immersion after one who had reached the age of accountability decided to join the church of his own free will. Because of these doctrines, the Separatists, who were profoundly influenced by the peasant Anabaptists of the German Reformation, came to be known as Baptists, the name by which their organizational descendants in the present Baptist church are still known. The Baptist church was —and remains—extremely democratic in form.

The Baptists still point to Roger Williams as the outstanding founder of their church in America. The American Baptists were always in the forefront of all early fights for freedom of religion. They supported Thomas Jefferson almost unanimously during the early party battles after the Revolution, and formed a large part of his following. Jefferson expressed admiration of their democratic form of church organization, and is often quoted by Baptists as having pointed to their church as a model for American democracy.

Among the Separatists or Baptists, the left-wing movement of English and American Calvinism, were certain groups who proposed to make the virtue of toil compulsory on all by enacting into law the Biblical injunction, "He who shall not work neither shall he eat." To achieve this, they proposed to confiscate from the wealthy all property which made it possible for them to live without labor. This in turn, they maintained should be distributed among the poor, so that all would own enough to support themselves by their own labor, but so that none could live on the labor of others. Those who advocated this most thorough-going of all the democratic Calvinist doctrines were known as Levellers. It was the growth of the Levelling movement that led the English right-wing Puritans in 1660 to make a compromise with Charles II and the defeated nobility for the purpose of putting up a united front against democracy. Levelling teachings were extremely popular among many frontier democrats

(*Continued on page* 22)

"Ernest and Tom, our allies," by Edith Glaser.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NM SPOTLIGHT

WHAT THE PRIMARIES REVEALED

By THE EDITORS

EACH of the three blind men in the fable touched a different part of the elephant and arrived at his own unique conclusions as to the nature of the whole. Today our journalistic blind men are presenting their no less unique explanations of the meaning of the latest primary results. To Frank C. Waldrop, editor of the Washington edition of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Cissie Patterson's *Times-Herald*, the defeat in the Missouri Democratic primary of that favored son of the fascist front, Sen. Bennett Champ Clark, was simply a victory for the Pendergast machine. The editorial writer of the Republican New York *Sun* got hold of the elephant from behind. To him what happened in New York and Missouri means that "When public apathy goes up against a functioning political organization, the public is usually thrown for a loss" (never mind that it was the functioning but reactionary political machines of both parties that were thrown for a loss —and not by public apathy). The New York *Times* has a man who makes a profession of being blind, and so: "The outcome of last Tuesday's primaries shows no very clearcut 'trend,' and it is possible to give several interpretations of some of the local results." As proof that the primaries showed no clearcut trend the *Times* cites the defeat of Clark, the near-defeat of Ham Fish, and the sweeping victory in the Democratic, Republican, and American Labor primaries of that outstanding supporter of the war and the Roosevelt administration, Rep. Vito Marcantonio. Having demonstrated that two plus two do not add up to five, the *Times* concludes that they add up to nothing at all—except that something must be done to stop that man Marcantonio.

But the average American is not blind and has no wish to be. The meaning of the August 1 primaries in New York, Missouri, Virginia, and Kansas can be told at a glance: the Democratic voters want men in Congress who will work with, not against President Roosevelt and the policies he represents; the Republican voters, if their wishes are not quite so specific, are nevertheless turning against obstructionists and fellow-travellers of fascism. The majority of the voters of both parties want Congressmen, irrespective of party label, who will help win the war as quickly as possible and help keep the peace in a cooperative world. This, it appears to us, is the cumulative meaning of all the primary contests held so far.

In New York City the progressive win-the-war forces set themselves four principal tasks: the renomination of Representative Marcantonio in all three primaries; the nomination of Rev. A. Clayton Powell, distinguished Negro leader, in all three primaries; the renomination in the Democratic primary of Rep. Donald L. O'Toole of Brooklyn, and Rep. Charles A. Buckley of the Bronx, both FDR supporters with excellent records. Marcantonio had to buck the Tammany and Republican machines and their Red-baiting hysterics in the press in opposing the anti-Roosevelt hack, Rep. Martin J. Kennedy, in the Democratic primary and an obscure naval officer in the Republican contest. Powell was fought by the GOP bosses who sponsored an unknown Negro woman to run against him in the Republican and Democratic primaries.

Tomason

Smarty had a party and nobody came!

O'Toole had to contend with the powerful Kelly Democratic machine which refused him the designation. Buckley had to battle the notorious Assemblyman John A. Devany, who was backed by Christian Front elements. Yet all four won, as did a number of progressive candidates for the state legislature.

Upstate a people's movement to oust one of the most odious of the pro-fascists in Congress, Rep. Ham Fish, came within 3,000 votes of success in the Republican contest. The campaign against Fish was especially significant for its genuinely non-partisan character, his opponent, a win-the-war Republican, Augustus W. Bennet, also receiving the Democratic and ALP endorsements. In this respect the campaign for Bennet resembled the movements behind Marcantonio and Powell in New York City. Since Bennet will oppose Fish again in November, there is a better than even chance that the combined votes of forward-looking Republicans, Democrats, Laborites, and independents will retire this Berlin favorite to private life.

In Missouri the issue was clearcut. In an article on the Missouri campaign in NEW MASSES of June 13 Bruce Minton wrote: "Senator Clark is a Roosevelt man once every six years." But neither this demagoguery nor his machine support could efface from the voters' memories Clark's defeatist, obstructionist, anti-Roosevelt record. They chose an ardent FDR man, Attorney General Roy McKittrick.

In Virginia the reactionary Democratic machine of Senator Byrd, which heretofore has been all-powerful, was severely jolted when its candidate for Congress, State Senator Ralph Daughton, barely squeaked through. His opponent, Vivian L. Page, had the support of a broad pro-Roosevelt coalition which included the AFL, CIO, and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

In Kansas, where the grip of the reactionary Republicans is strong, Rep. W. P. Lambertson, the man who while his own son claimed to be a conscientious objector assailed the war record of the President's sons, went down to defeat in the GOP primary.

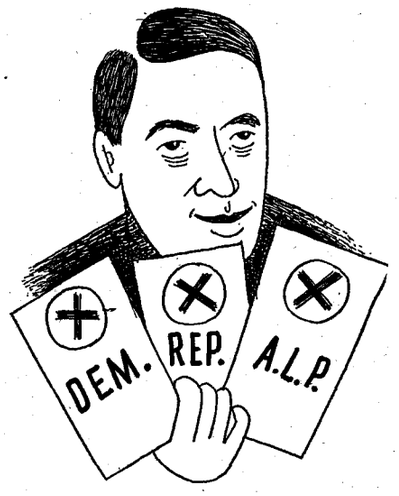
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two other recent developments need to be added to this picture: in South Carolina the Democratic state convention, which had threatened to bolt, decided to support the Roosevelt-Truman ticket; in Texas, center of the anti-Roosevelt putsch, the county conventions appear to have elected a majority of pro-FDR delegations to the state convention September 12.

In most of what has happened the CIO Political Action Committee has played a part. But it is not the part attributed to it by Martin Dies and by those partisan snipers who wax indignant when the people learn to use their collective power in their own behalf. When the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* praises the "hard-working amateurs," the actors and writers who did such effective work against Ham Fish, yet in another editorial on the same page attacks PAC as a sinister "pressure group," isn't it making itself ridiculous? Just what is the difference between the roles played by the two groups? Certain it is that PAC is a dynamic movement that is helping to clarify the issues and weld together the popular forces in this critical election year. But none of the victories achieved so far could have been won by PAC alone. In those in which it was a factor it was allied with patriotic businessmen, professional people and farmers—Republicans as well as Democrats—in advancing the national interest. Compared with the traditional political machines, PAC is a great gust of clean air in our national life.

Yes, the political tide is moving definitely forward. Even before the final election it is already assured that certain faces will be missing from the next Congress—the kind that won't be missed. But a trend is not an end-product. The adroit gentlemen who are masterminding the Dewey-Bricker campaign are attempting to ride the crest of popular sentiment in the effort to place Hoover's protege in the White House with a Congress to match. It would be worse than folly to assume that anything less than hard work on the part of all citizens who place country above party will guarantee the reelection of President Roosevelt and a Congress which can be trusted with the difficult problems of the peace.

Capital news.



Tomason

X Marcs the spot.

Intended to Befuddle

TWENTY-SIX Republican governors put their heads together last week to concoct a policy statement which can stand as a model for duplicity. If ever a document was devised to beguile the American people, and befuddle them on the crucial issues of our time, this was it. As Governor Dewey and his associates put it, anything good in life stems from GOP counsels; all evil can be traced to That Man and his administration. The war? That phenomenon is all but absent from the weighty deliberations. The governors and Mr. Dewey seem to live in a never-never land where no men die from shot and shell. There is no recognition that America is fighting for its life in association with other nations, and that good postwar relations between the Allies is *sina qua non* for an enduring peace. All this is cavalierly by-passed to conjure up every imaginable criticism of the administration on the home-front. That truth is the sufferer is no concern to these men who aspire to be the leaders after November.

Let us scotch some of the most obvious lies first: take the issue of reconversion. Realizing that scores of millions are worrying about jobs in the immediate future, the governors try on this issue to wrap themselves in the mantle of virtue. The administration is charged with "listlessness, negligence, and lack of leadership." It "stands squarely in the path of future employment. . . ." What is the truth? Let us go to the record, even as the New York *Herald Tribune* sees it, in its editorial of August 1. After urging the quick adoption of Baruch-Hancock report (sponsored by the administration, incidentally), the editors admit that "many of its recommendations called for purely executive action, and that has been taken." Who, may we ask, takes "executive action"? The very man who said in his address on the progress of the war and the plans for peace, as far back as July 29, 1943: "That large objective of reconverting wartime America to a peacetime basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action." And since, as the *Herald Tribune* points out, Congress has been negligent in passing upon the other recommendations of the Baruch report that require legislative action, we may ask the governors if they have forgotten that there are some few Republicans in the House and Senate. And those Republican Congressmen have broken none of their bones in trying to get reconversion legislation passed.

Secondly: the governors "commend the veterans and their organizations for initiating and the Congress for enacting the "GI Bill of Rights." Note the obvious and painstaking failure to credit the administration for any iota of this bill. It so happens that the same man who foresaw the urgency of reconversion a year ago, said in that same address: ". . . The members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifices and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and they are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems." And he outlined six points of action which formed the framework of the ensuing GI Bill of Rights.

And so down the line. It is necessary to note the nature of some of the other issues rigged up by Dewey and his associates: the questions of highways, that of the National Guard and Organized Reserves. One can almost hear the strategists wracking their brains for issues to obscure the central, over-all questions: shall we live in a world of peace after this war? Shall we have friendly relations with our sister nations so that foreign trade can be enhanced, can enable us to employ millions of our returning soldiers and war workers? As to the issue of unemployment compensation: the nation will remember what Governor Dewey's mentor Herbert Hoover felt about unemployment insur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ance. And what a national movement was necessary to alter the perspectives from apple-selling to governmental responsibility.

Bedfellows

CERTAIN prominent Republican politicians may occasionally get their wires crossed, but their foxy trouble-shooters are quick to get at the damage. At Pawling, Mr. Bricker accepted Gerald L. K. Smith's offer of support, and announced that a Republican vote from Mr. Smith would be counted with the rest. Mr. Dewey had no comment. Then Smith's America First Party held a nominating meeting and named the Republican vice presidential candidate running mate for their fuehrer.

Dewey was compelled to speak. He had been silent on the Ham Fish issue, an unwise tactic, as he later discovered. The majority of Americans refuse to accept anti-Semitism and the presidential candidate was confronted with a choice—either to answer and repudiate, or lose votes. Before that incident was over Mr. Bricker had agreed to Smith's support, and Dewey had to act fast. A guest in Springfield, Ill., he conferred *via long distance phone with* Herbert Brownell, national chairman of the Republican Party, in New York. The result of their conversation was read by Dewey at a press conference in Springfield: "Gerald Smith is one of those rabble-rousers . . . who makes racial prejudice his stock in trade. His contemptible attempts to associate himself with Governor Bricker is a sinister effort (sic) to smear the Republican candidate for Vice President." Later, Mr. Bricker dutifully parrotted: "The act of Smith in associating my name with his . . . is the cheapest kind of demagoguery. I denounce it and shall not have my name used in any such connection."

From a distance this may seem amusing—the spectacle of the fumblers and their press advisers trying to get their stories straight. However, it is typical of the campaign in which Dewey and the men around him are quickly mastering the Machiavellian techniques of avoiding such blunders. But minor differences and expedient words to the contrary, the noteworthy discrepancy still stands—none of these candidates or advisers has ventured to repudiate the damning support of the McCormick press and its associates. These newspapers, which plug day after day for the Axis, are crusaders for the kind of world which the Deweyites and the Gerald L. K. Smiths desire.

Ismet Inonu.

It is significant that Ham Fish issued a statement deploring Dewey's repudiation, but the pro-fascist Congressman reiterated his support of the GOP standard-bearers. Despite the occasional harsh words passed, their fundamental positions are the same. They are all walking the same plank.

Turkey Joins Up

A SURE sign that Hitler's days are numbered is Turkey's action in breaking off all diplomatic and economic relations with Germany. The Turkish government has since the outbreak of the war consistently leaned over backwards in its relations with Germany. Only a deep conviction that the Nazis were near the end of their rope could have persuaded the calculating diplomats of Ankara to start leaning toward the United Nations and incidentally living up to their mutual assistance pact with Britain signed in 1939. Even so, it took considerable prodding to make the Turkish leaders recognize what the score is. As recently as May 24 Prime Minister Churchill excoriated the Turks for refusing to collaborate earlier in the year despite the highly favorable military position of the Allies and the shipment to Turkey in 1943 alone of more than $80,000,000 of British and American munitions. Though on April 21 Turkey had ended exports to Germany of her most important war material, chrome, only seven weeks later she permitted partly dismantled German warships to pass through the Dardenelles.

At an earlier period, when the Russians were hard pressed, or even last October, when the Allies had an opportunity to gain control of the Aegean following the collapse of Italy, a Turkish neutrality benevolently weighted on the side of the United Nations could have been of great assistance. Yet one ought to be grateful that even at five minutes to twelve, as the United Nations close in from east, west, and south for the final kill, the Turks have taken this initial step toward aligning themselves with the side of freedom and decency. Just how much damage the cessation of Turkish exports to the Third Reich and the closing down of German espionage centers will do to the Nazis is not certain. Nor is it possible to estimate the political and moral effect on Hitler's Balkan satellites. Let us hope that Ankara's over-cautious statesmen, having taken the first plunge, will begin to swim —will open the Dardenelles for United Nations ships, provide air and sea bases for the Allies and find other ways of helping the common cause.

Halt the Death March

THE fate, not yet consummated, of 400,000 Jews in Hungary, has brought together all sections of American Jewry in a vigorous effort to rescue as many as possible. The Horthy government, not out of the goodness of its heart, but in growing fear of the threatening Allied victory and the wrath of its own people who systematically sabotage its anti-Semitic decrees, has for the time being, at least, stopped the deportations to Poland. Moreover, it has offered through the International Red Cross a provisional exit for some of the 400,000. All Jewish children up to the age of ten may go to any of the United Nations which will take them in; any Jew with an entry visa to Palestine will be permitted to leave, and the Red Cross will be permitted to bring relief to those Jews still held in Hungary. The offer, with its requirement of the Palestine visa, is hopefully intended to be divisive, but it represents a victory and has focused the indignation of Jews of all persuasions on the essential tasks to save not only the Hungarian Jews, but all decent humanity.

Some seventy organizations—all the Zionist organizations, the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order-IWO, the Jewish People's Committee, B'nai Brith, and many fraternal and religious groups from the most

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conservative to the most advanced—have acted jointly under the sponsorship of the American Jewish Conference. Last Monday 75,000 Jews and Christians met in Madison Square Park in New York to speak their minds, offer resolutions, and discuss what might be done. They heard a strong public declaration from Franklin Roosevelt that those among the Axis guilty of acts of savagery would be punished. They urged the Hungarian government to "halt the death march"; they urged that all barriers to Jewish immigration to Palestine or other United Nations territories be removed; that the Jews be made temporary Allied citizens to improve their legal situation. There were tears and anger and a deep feeling of responsibility.

What a pity it is to see such a unity demonstration made the occasion for a carping attack on the administration. One would expect no better from one of Mr. Hearst's dirty little mud-splatterers, but for a pro-war, pro-Roosevelt columnist like I. F. Stone to say (*PM*, August 2) that the President's message was "disappointing" and to suggest that the administration was doing so little about all these grim matters that one could hardly tell whether they were "rescuers" or "accomplices," is irresponsible, to put it most charitably. The final rescue of the Jews and other enslaved peoples can come only with the swiftest and most thorough defeat of Nazism on the battlefield. Those who, like Mr. Stone, know perfectly well that Franklin Roosevelt represents the forces most determined on victory should think before they speak, and then speak helpfully.

Toward the Postwar

THE world's eyes will be focused on the historic meeting which opens in Georgetown August 21 to construct a universal peace machinery. These will not be easy or simple negotiations, for they encompass the globe as well as the many problems that need solution before a security organization can begin to operate. But these discussions start with the solid core of friendship among the Allies expressed in the Moscow and Teheran commitments. This is the proper functional approach. Instead of a host of unrealistic blueprints reaching the heights of absurdity—and we are thinking especially of Walter Lippmann's fantasm of orbits, planets, and satellites—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China get together to design a structure that will not fall apart as did the League of Nations. It is these four powers that possess the wealth and strength and democratic outlook absolutely essential to direct a world family of nations against potential aggressors. The great powers have learned a good deal since the tragic meetings at Geneva, and it is also increasingly apparent that the interests of the smaller nations will be best safeguarded if they recognize that the organization of postwar power must be in the hands of those states which have the means to curb and punish recalcitrants.

Particularly impressive is the fact that the conference on world organization follows a series of meetings on food, rehabilitation, monetary stabilization and loans, oil, etc. Peace is indivisible from prosperity and no international organization can expect to thrive for long if its economic foundations are not secure. A great beginning has been made and it is a special quality of the President's statesmanship that he proceeds in making the country's contribution to world peace by insisting that it rest on something more solid than absolutist dreams. With economic security as the guiding perspective the discussions about to begin among the four leading Allies have every chance of success—and succeed they must if we are not again to be drenched in tears and blood.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

ON THE ROAD TO PARIS

THE brilliant American offensive in Brittany is exactly what we had been talking about and wishing for: a break-out into so-called "operational space" where a war of maneuver can be waged. The situation a few days before the spectacular break was essentially this: the Germans were planning to do their utmost to contain the Allied "lion" in his Cotentin cage. This cage had a door which stretched from Caen to Lessay. It was difficult for the Germans to guess which was the lock and which the hinge. They decided that Caen was the lock and Lessay the hinge. Accordingly, they massed whatever they could muster to oppose the British and Canadians near Caen, and tried to hold the lock in order to prevent a break-out along the Caen-Paris line. Here they were counting on their Orne line and on the hills to the east. Obviously, the Germans did not have enough troops to hold the hinge-side of the door at the same time.

General Eisenhower decided to pretend he was ordering General Dempsey to break down the lock of the door, and at the same time ordered General Bradley to kick the door off its hinge and break through along the Lessay-Avranches line. The march into Brittany was on. By the time these lines reach the reader it is probable that the Brittany campaign will be over in the main.

The amazing speed of the American mechanized advance in three main directions—toward Brest, toward LeMans, and toward the Loire—is clear proof that the Germans had very few troops in Brittany and that resistance is only casual and desultory. It is probable that the entire Breton peninsula did not contain more than five second-rate German divisions. However, even if the Brittany campaign does not destroy a large number of enemy troops, it will have vital and far-reaching results. To begin with, the liberation of Brittany will about quadruple our fighting space in France, with all that implies in regard to possible maneuver. The area of the peninsula is about 7,500 square miles, as compared to the scant 2,500 square miles of the Normandy Peninsula. Together it will give us about 10,000 square miles, or the equivalent of the Crimea (this geographical comparison is important).

Secondly, of course, it will give us four major ports—Brest, Lorient, St. Nazaire, and Nantes—and a number of medium and small ones. Brest may act as a spigot to which the supply lines from the USA can be attached direct, without transshipment from England.

Thirdly, these ports will not only be captured for our own use, but the sub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marine nests the Germans had built up in Lorient and St. Nazaire will be destroyed and the subs—some will escape—will be left homeless, with the alternative of breaking through to the Baltic ports, or . . . crossing over to Argentina and taking refuge there (some might go to Spanish ports, of course, but that would be only a temporary abode because the Allies will probably be less lenient with Spain once their right flank rests on the Pyrenees). In fact after the Brittany campaign is over the German submarine menace in the Atlantic will be over for all practical purposes.

Fourthly, the liberation of Brittany will give us an active front of some 150 miles between the Loire and the Bay of the Seine. Now, on a 150-mile front a lot of things can be done. There can be rolling attacks, strategic surprise and new breakthroughs, and maneuver in general. The Germans must find no less than fifty divisions to hold such a front. The 10,000 square miles of territory we will soon hold will provide us with all the airfields we want, for both operational and tactical bombing. The front now shaping up (even assuming that it will not move east, as it doubtless will) is twice as close to Paris as the British airdromes which must have been moved to the north and northwest of London because of the robots.

THE operational pattern of the Brittany campaign has a striking similarity with the Crimean campaign of the Red Army in April. If you compare the breakthrough at Avranches with the Perekop and Chongar breakthroughs by the armies of General Tolbukhin and put St. Malo, Brest, Lorient, and Nantes in place of Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Yalta, and Feodosia, you will see that both Montgomery and Tolbukhin (backed up by Yeremenko) did approximately the same thing: they fanned out to strike at all the ports simultaneously.

The speed of the advance in the Crimea and in Brittany as well as the main operational distances are approximately the same. However, there are important differences between the two campaigns. Some can be chalked up in favor of the Americans, others in favor of the Russians.

The very conformation of the Crimea freed Red Army troops from any threat to their flank at the moment of the breakthrough because at that time the line on the mainland had been pushed past Odessa. American troops crashed into Brittany with their left flank facing toward Paris exposed and had to take corollary measures to secure it by pushing eastward, toward the Mayenne River. Furthermore, the Red Army broke into the Crimea from two directions—from the north and from the east (from the bridgehead at Kerch). On the other hand, the Perekop and Chongar Isthmuses created narrow bottlenecks which could not be widened by fighting because they were not man-made. The Americans could widen the Avranches bottleneck by fighting through toward Barenton and Fougeres. There is a basic difference between Sevastopol and Brest, chiefly because the Germans had fortified Sevastopol against attack from land while it is doubtful that the defenses on the land side of Brest are very powerful.

It is clear more than ever that the recent cartoon in Punch (reproduced in the August 6 New York *Times*) is absolutely right. The cartoon shows Hitler looking at a war map and asking an orderly: "And where are my immense reserves?" The orderly sadly points at endless rows of crosses on the horizon and says: "Still in the East, *mein Fuehrer.*" In the East Soviet strategy has achieved a remarkable situation. The entire German front between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea has been pushed into a southwestern-northeastern position, roughly paralleling the Baltic. It looks like a huge sausage 500 miles long stretching from Lake Peipus to the vicinity of the Oder. Only at its extreme base (the Cracow-Danzig line) is the sausage 300 miles wide and its average width is hardly more than 100 miles. The sausage is encased between the Red Army and the blue sea.

Four Soviet fangs are cutting up this sausage into three parts. One fang (General Bagramian and his First Baltic Front) has made a spectacular march to the Baltic and has cut off probably a score of German divisions between Lake Peipus and the Dvina River. This slice of sausage is being compressed by the army groups of Generals Govorov, Maslennikov, and Yeremenko toward the Baltic, while Soviet torpedo boats and cutters have already been rushed to captured Mitava (Elgava, or Mitau) by truck in order to help intercept attempts to evacuate the German divisions by sea. As a result of this catastrophic situation in Estonia and northern Latvia, it is probable that the Germans will leave Finland to its own devices (which will mean surrender). They will probably have to evacuate Norway, too.

Another Soviet fang is ripping along the Nieman toward Tilsit and Memel, threatening to cut off southern Latvia and Lithuania from East Prussia. General Chernyakhovsky is poised for an attack on East Prussia, having taken Kaunas and breached the Nieman. The third fang is formed by Marshal Rokossovsky's spearhead, supported by General Zakharov's army group. They are threatening Warsaw and are immobilizing, like a huge magnet, the German armies of the center along the great bend of the Vistula. They also threaten to cut off East Prussia from Germany. The fourth fang is Marshal Konev's right flank which crossed the Vistula and is advancing on Cracow as well as on the rear communication lines between Warsaw and the southwest. Thus the German sausage which was a real front only seven weeks ago is being cut up into four slices—the Peipus-Dvina slice, the Dvina-Nieman slice, the Nieman-Vistula slice, and the big hunk in the bend of the Vistula. Add to this that Konev has captured the Galician oilfields (Drohobych) and has advanced almost to within artillery range of the three main passes in the Carpathians.

As a result of this extraordinary situation the German armies cannot even recoil into the corridor between the Middle Baltic and the Carpathians. The Baltic "tail" is being caught in the closing door. This was achieved in the main by the brilliant maneuver of the Soviet High Command which turned the operational direction of seven army groups from an east-west direction to a southeast-northwest direction. This maneuver is reflected in the Soviet communiques which in most cases start nowadays: "*northwest* of such-and-such-a-place."

While many eyes are focussed on East Prussia and Warsaw, the main Soviet objective does not lie there. The main objective, now that the German northern wing is jammed against the Baltic and is being sliced up, while the southern wing is hopelessly isolated by the Carpathians—is the German central group standing between the bend of the Vistula and the Oder beyond the German border. This is where the decisive battle of the war will probably take place. Such places as Kutno and Lodz, scenes of German 1939 triumphs, ought to be the scene of the *coup de grace.*

Paris and Warsaw, Calais and Koenigsberg, Lyons and Cracow are important objectives, but they are not going to decide the war. The decisive battle should be fought around places with unpronounceable names like Bydgoszcz, Zgjerz, Szydlowiec, Krolewska Huta, Czestochowa, Kalisz, Poznan, and Krzyz (Kreuz, to you).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GUEST EDITORIAL

By E. WASHINGTON RHODES

PHILADELPHIA'S SHAME

Mr. Rhodes is publisher of the Philadelphia "Tribune," a leading Negro newspaper, and is chairman of the Pennsylvania State Temporary Commission on the Conditions of the Urban Colored Population.

THE men who led the strike which paralyzed the transportation system of Philadelphia are not alone to blame for the wanton interference with the war effort and the reckless disregard for the rights of the general public. True it is that the actions of the employes who stopped all subway and elevated trains, all street cars, and all buses operated by the Philadelphia Transportation Company at a time when these facilities were vitally needed to get workers to their jobs, borders on treason. Newspapers have properly branded their procedure as disgraceful. The known ringleaders have been arrested. They will be indicted and properly punished. And they should be.

Those who think they know the answer, point out that the employment of a few colored men who are being trained as operators is not the real cause of the strike. These claim that it is an effort to destroy the Transport Workers Union which defeated the company union in an election to determine the bargaining agent for the workers with the PTC.

There is merit in this contention. The strike was too thoroughly organized to be a sporadic outbreak because a few Negroes were being trained to operate street cars. There are others who take the position that the officials of PTC conspired with their former henchmen who controlled the company union in an effort to discredit the TWU.

There are indications which prove that the company officials at least knew what was happening and did nothing about it. In any event the company officials were willing to capitulate immediately after the strike was called. Notices of surrender to the demands of the employes, which were contrary to the orders of the federal government, were on hand ready for distribution when the clouds first appeared.

But the fact remains that regardless of the real reason for the sneak attack which helped Hitler and Hirohito, the one openly stated was that the men stopped worked because eight Negroes were being trained to operate street cars.

It was stated by the strike committee that the men would return to work immediately upon agreement that Negroes would not be permitted to operate street cars. The issue on the face of things, therefore is one of narrow race prejudice.

People are saying that it is outrageous for 6,000 men to tie up the transportation system of the second largest war production area in America. They are asking for the punishment of its leaders. They want the government to crack down hard on those responsible for the iniquitous action. The strike projected American race prejudice across the world in all of its horrible nakedness. Perhaps no other event since the Civil War has shown so effectively the bitter results which flow from racial prejudice.

IT IS important to keep the record straight, to dig beneath the surface and face the hard, cruel truth. Why was it possible for the McMenamins, the Carneys, and the Dixeys to appeal so effectively to the racial prejudices of the majority of PTC workers? All their lives these men have been taught that by being white they are superior to all colored people. It is a stupid and foolish belief but they think that they have special privileges because they were born white. They should be pitied, as well as scorned, by all right thinking people because they are not entirely to blame for their silly opinions. America has permitted vast segments of its population to become indoctrinated with the idea of racial superiority. Men of little minds unable to think beyond the morass of hidebound racial customs too frequently see colored people subjected to discrimination, believe that Negroes are inferior.

Federal, state, and municipal governments practice discrimination and segregation in one form or another. The great Christian churches of all denominations permit discrimination and segregation. Big business whether in the North or South refuses to employ Negroes on the sole basis of ability. Labor unions, with certain honorable exceptions, tolerate discrimination. Under these circumstances it was perfectly easy for bigots to sway the workers to issue a mandate to the United States government that "unless it is agreed in writing that Negroes will not be employed as operators, we will not work."

IN SAYING all the above, I do not want to omit one iota of credit due the courageous work of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee. Nor do I want to derogate the fact that the government did not back down, here in Philadelphia. It stuck by its guns, the guns that are blasting the life out of fascism and its racist ideas in Europe and in the Pacific. These groups, plus the hardy work of many laboring groups, particularly in the CIO, show what ought to to be done to change this state of affairs.

But the prejudices of the Philadelphia strikers against the Negro were more powerful than their love of country. All appeals to their patriotism failed to correct their distorted thinking. Most of them have relatives in the armed forces whose lives may be lost on account of their behavior. Even this greatest of all human appeals fell on stony ground. Because America has tolerated racial hatred, condoned and fostered discrimination against Negroes even in the face of a dangerous crisis, tremendous force had to be used to get the Philadelphia transportation system to move. But sufficient force was used only because of the war. Wisdom dictates that all the force necessary be used at all times to destroy the copperhead monster, racial prejudice.

The leaders of the strike and those who supported them are the products of American customs. Unless that is remembered a dangerous event which threatened the life of a great city will have taught us nothing.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Calvinist Legacy

(*Continued from page 15*)

throughout colonial history in America.

John Locke bridged the gap after 1689 between the covenant theory of the Independent Puritans and the contract theory of the state as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence. Locke laid the foundations for modern democratic theory by presenting the contract to which all sovereigns are bound as emanating from the people alone. Thus, he considered the state as purely secular, and completely severed political theory from theology.

While such leaders as Jefferson, Franklin, Paine, and others followed Locke's teachings, it is important to remember that the majority of Americans in 1776 continued to view the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence from the standpoint of Independent Calvinism. It was this older religious doctrine that was voiced by John Quincy Adams when he engaged in such bold and dialectical thinking concerning the future workings of divine Providence in reference to the conflict over slavery. The ethical and social outlook of the earlier view coincided with that of the more advanced philosophy in spite of the differences between the theology of one and the philosophy of the other.

Nothing could so illustrate the strong vitality of early revolutionary Calvinism as does the great *Battle Hymn of the Republic* which emerged from our second revolution, the Civil War.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of
the coming of the Lord,
He is trampling out the vintage
where the grapes of wrath are
stored.
He hath loosed the fateful lightning
of his terrible swift sword,
His truth is marching on.

In the spirit of that hymn innumerable Christians, together with Buddhists, Jews, Mohammedans, and followers of other ancient faiths, are today marching into battle. To whatever theology or philosophy the various citizens of the United Nations adhere, their ethical and social aims coincide with those of our Calvinist forefathers who in 1642 marched into battle against a tyrant, who in 1776 fought for the Declaration of Independence, and in 1861 marched against slaveholders with the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* on their lips. No one today can be a true follower of the great moral code of Christianity who does not manifest by his deeds the spirit of that great hymn.

IN PASSING . . .

Washington.

GOVERNMENT officials would like to know the identity of the member of the American group through whom phoney anti-Soviet propaganda was channeled to reporters at the Bretton Woods conference.

•

NOT only Henry Kaiser but another shipbuilder, Andrew Jackson Higgins, are said to be planning to go into the automobile making business after the war. The big three, Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors, all of whom are fighting reconversion, preferring that no peacetime production be resumed until all can resume, are very nervous about Kaiser and Higgins. Particularly as Kaiser is conferring with the CIO right along on how to get along in the postwar world. The big three would like to have a big labor surplus, and possibly move some plants into the south in the hope of making inroads into the UAW.

•

FUNNIEST line of the month: from the "United Mine Workers Journal," in an outraged editorial on Eric Johnston's wanting the USSR to have credits which might be guaranteed by the government —"We think the time has come for businessmen to behave like businessmen."

•

UAW researcher Lincoln Fairley, who with Ann Page, an AFL researcher, attended the recent Committee for Economic Development meeting in Chicago, came back impressed that CED really wants to work with labor on formulating postwar plans. It's the first time the CIO has sent a representative to any CED meeting but that's not the fault of CED. It's also trying to work with labor in local communities. The CED is sponsoring a tax program which is pretty much the new Ruml plan of dropping corporation taxes in favor of more income taxation, presented by the National Planning Association recently. Beardsley Ruml is active in CED. "I'm aware of its political dangers, and I know some labor spokesmen already oppose it, but what are we doing about taxation?" Fairley said. "I came back convinced labor must get to work immediately on a tax program."

THE Washington "Post," which has been more and more sympathetic to Thomas Dewey since its publisher, Eugene Meyer, visited him recently, has fired an employe who campaigned for Henry Wallace on his vacation. The story around Washington is that the employe returned from vacation to be told by the managing editor, Alexander F. Jones, that he was not wanted any longer—that the "Post" was not an independent newspaper but an independent Republican newspaper. The "Post" has also drastically altered its policy on the Nazi sedition trial and took its reporter James Chinn off the trial. Before he went, though, he did a two-column piece on which the "Post" based an editorial which declared the trial a "farce."

The "Post" originally ran a series exposing many of the defendants, just prior to the grand jury investigation. Now the "Post" advises the court to "sever additional cases and insist that the testimony be stripped down to essentials."

Mass trials, it said, are successful where testimony is brief "or where the Russian technique of condemning the defendants first and putting on a trial for show is used." And now (August 4) the "Post" editorializes on the nomination of Ham Fish, which it finds "a keen disappointment," and Vito Marcantonio, which it sees as "even more deplorable in some respects." Perhaps the funniest line in it is in its speculation on how the CIO is responsible, and its plaintive query, ". . . is self-government withering for want of public interest?"

Even more amazing than the "Post's" defection regarding the trial, however, is the whispering campaign emanating from certain people in the Department of Justice which is helping undermine faith in the prosecution. It goes like this: the DJ is sorry we ever got in this mess and a mass trial was a mistake, they should have been tried separately, Winrod in Kansas, McWilliams in Chicago, etc. Of course it is a conspiracy case and this would have weakened the case, they admit, but this is clearly in the afterthought department.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIEW and COMMENT

GUIDE TO MAGAZINE READERS

By HENRY BLACK

LIBRARIANS are generally agreed that facts and ideas are weapons in the war, but all too often we ignore the implications of this proposition and proceed casually along old lines. There is still a strong tendency to think of the war as a disagreeable and complicated task—something analogous to a disastrous fire or epidemic—which should be left to the Army and Navy and other specialized war agencies with only our passive acquiescence in their work.

Actually the matter is far more serious. Ideas *are* important, so much so that Hitler counts confusion, ignorance, prejudice, and suspicion among his most important weapons. A central problem of the war for the United States is to inform the whole people, to provide them with bases for action on the issues involved in the war, the nature of the enemy, and the measures required for quickly defeating him.

The quick winning of the war will require the most complete national unity. Libraries can contribute much to the strengthening and extending of that unity. These contributions must rest on the recognition that there are between the various sections of our population real divergences in practical experiences and in ways of thinking about the world. The very existence of problems on the home front is evidence of the need for continuing efforts to achieve unity. Since the divergence in experience is real, the attaining of unity requires an increasing knowledge on the part of all the people of the experiences and opinions of *all* the groups whose major concerns are with the war effort. Heretofore, libraries have largely ignored the activities of several groups that have come to be of decisive importance in our national life. In the past important discussions of national problems were to be found, in large part, only in commercially published books and periodicals. But the last decade has witnessed a large increase, not merely in the amount of literature published by the labor movement and national minorities, but also —and more important—in the extent to which that literature is concerned with national and world problems. This new body of literature reflects the important place these organizations are assuming in the country's life. Unity requires that it be made widely and easily available.

IN TIMES of crisis current periodicals are of major importance, being the only organs of fact and opinion that can keep up with rapid changes. And a new burden falls upon the composite periodical indexes; without them easy access to the recent periodical literature is practically impossible. It is rather disturbing, then, to find that the most important index, *Readers' Guide*, covers not a single trade union journal, not a single Negro paper, not one Jewish periodical, and not one military organ. The H. W. Wilson Co., publishers of *Readers' Guide*, occupies a unique position in American intellectual and cultural life. It has virtually a monopoly on the publications of book listing and indexing services. Besides *Readers' Guide*, which covers the field of general literature, the company publishes indexes in the educational, agricultural, legal, technological, and art fields. Another of its publications, *US Catalogue*, is the only available complete list of current books in the English language. These services alone, not to mention its various other bibliographical activities, make it absolutely indispensable to libraries, scholars, and others. The company, which employs about 250 people, is a private corporation subject to no public control.

Even a moment's consideration reveals the seriousness of this situation. The trade unions, which comprise some of the largest groups in the country, have a great deal to contribute from their long and varied experience toward problems of production, of health, child care, price control, manpower. It is obvious that the fight against anti-Semitism and anti-Negro prejudice (two of Hitler's most effective weapons) can be won only by fully utilizing the knowledge and experience of the Jewish and Negro people. Some might question the necessity for indexing current military literature for the use of non-specialists, but long controversy over the place of aviation and military strategy, to mention but one point, shows that wider knowledge of the technical side of war is essential.

Some librarians may try to comfort themselves with the assertion that these more "specialized" periodicals are covered by *International Index* or by *Public Affairs Information Service*. Such, however, is not the case. *International Index* covers one trade union organ, one Negro periodical (an historical quarterly that does not deal with current events), one Jewish paper, and one military journal. (Out of a total of 224 indexed.) Hardly an impressive record for these times. PAIS does cover in part five trade union papers, four Negro papers, and six Jewish periodicals (as of May 1943), but two of the trade union titles are brief four-page monthly economic surveys and one is also covered by *International Index*. Moreover, PAIS is highly selective in its indexing. Even if *International Index* and PAIS were much more widely available they would not help the situation much.

But the significant fact is that *Reader's Guide* is by far the best known and most heavily used indexing service. Its

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Street Fighting," by Loh Tien. From an exhibition of Chinese war art sponsored by China Aid Council and The American Committee for Chinese War Orphans, now at the ACA Gallery.

circulation is six or eight times as large as that of any of the other services. In many small and medium-sized public and college libraries, as well as in most high school libraries, it is the only index available. In the larger metropolitan library systems it is usually the only index available in the branches. Because *Readers' Guide* is most frequently used it is imperative for it to cover a more representative group of magazines.

We are well aware that librarians share in the responsibility for the present situation through their failure to build up better-balanced collections of periodicals. That weakness must be corrected. But indexing services should be more widely available than sets of the periodicals covered. (Consider the ease of getting microprints or the case of the high school library in a small city which relies on the public library for many titles used occasionally by students.) And there are many librarians, particularly in the smaller libraries, who hesitate to stock an unindexed periodical.

I have been talking in very general terms. A few specific examples of the gaps in *Readers' Guide* coverage will make the situation more concrete.

The Detroit riots occurred in June 1943. But the October 10 and November 10 issues of *Reader's Guide*, covering the intervening four months, contained not a single reference to the findings or opinions of representatives of the Negro people about the riot, its causes or measures for preventing future outbreaks. The spread of anti-Semitism in the United States is one of the most dangerous tendencies of the times. In several areas it has grown to the level of organized violence and hoodlumism. But the 1941-43 volume of *Readers' Guide* lists only eight or ten articles on this problem, none of them speaking for organized groups of Jewish people, and only two or three dealing with the relation of anti-Semitism to Hitlerism.

Of the 181 articles listed under "Trade unions—United States" in the latest two-year volume, there is not one which gives the position of a national labor organization on any of the important issues covered. Moreover, at least twenty-six of these 181 articles covered (the proportion would undoubtedly be higher if one could examine them all) are definitely anti-union in tone and conclusion.

These illustrations could be multiplied ten or fifty times, but the picture would be about the same. While we have drawn illustrations from only four fields, a similar picture would result if we were to test the coverage by *Readers' Guide* of material on our Russian ally, on China, or on the colonial countries. To summarize as mildly as is possible, anyone who is forced to rely primarily on *Readers' Guide* for reference material on current problems will be getting a distorted and lopsided view of the world. It is no longer sufficient to have merely a few articles about a current problem. Since there are diverging experiences—the experiences, for example, of Negro people in dealing with the results of a riot are not the same as those of a real estate board—it is essential that the experiences and opinions of all major organizations be made generally available. If this is not done, libraries not merely lose their opportunity to contribute to national unity—they face the serious danger of becoming propaganda channels for groups that represent but one aspect of American life.

COMPOSITE periodical indexing is an essential public utility. The very fact that the Wilson Company's services have become indispensable imposes new responsibilities on the company. It may be argued that wartime shortages of manpower and materials make expansion impossible. But the necessity for making available information on all aspects of the war is very great. It can be shown that the addition of two or three persons to the company's staff would be sufficient to handle the necessary expan-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion. This should present no impossible obstacles for a firm the size of the Wilson Company. The added cost could probably be covered by a slight increase in subscribers' annual rates. Nevertheless, should it develop that expansion of indexing at this time is not feasible, there is another solution. Could any periodicals be dropped in favor of others more closely related to the war effort?

Such a question might once have been considered something of a "hornet's nest," to be carefully avoided. But the war is a serious business. When we are fighting to prevent the extermination of whole peoples, special efforts by educational workers must include the revision of outworn methods of work and standards of judgment. The war is not an isolated accident, irrelevant to our long-range activities. On the speed with which it is won will largely depend the nature of the postwar world. More, the problems of that world, of "winning the peace," will be numerous and very complex. Their solution will require as high a degree of national unity as the winning of the war. Because libraries are among the principal bearers and preservers of culture, because they are so important, not only in the provision of technical and recreational literature, but also in providing material from which people make decisions about fundamental economic, political, and international problems (that the library's contributions are often indirect, through its services to teachers, journalists, and leaders of organizations only enhances its importance), they have both the opportunity and the obligation to use their facilities—including indexing services—to contribute to the unifying of the country's efforts. Are there any general principles by which the making of substitutions could be guided? Sole reliance on the number of libraries which stock a periodical is no longer practical in making decisions about indexing.

Two criteria may be mentioned. First, are there any periodicals on the present list the contents of which are not, in general, sufficiently relevant to the war effort to justify their inclusion? Such magazines as *Better Homes and Gardens*, *House Beautiful*, and *Popular Science Monthly* are certainly in this category. These are doubtless interesting, useful, and entertaining magazines which well repay their readers. But the principal problems of the war are political, economic, and military. If a choice must be made, would it not be better to cover titles more concerned with fundamental problems of the war?

Second, are there any periodicals on the present list which are subversive of national unity, which are injuring or handicapping the war effort? This question may bring up worried remarks about the danger of censorship and the need for impartiality. But "censorship" is not the issue here. American libraries are committed without reservation to the winning of the war. There can be no impartiality on this question. There are no "more important" problems. Questions about whether we should win the war, whether our side is right, are no more open for discussion than is the reestablishment of chattel slavery. There are in the United States groups that are either indifferent or hostile to United Nations victory. These groups publish books and periodicals, the function of which is to confuse, slow down, divide, our efforts. Such material falls outside our field. It is not the libraries' job to assist in the distribution of such materials. It may be argued that the indexing of such material is useful to democratic forces, but in a period of shortages when we cannot do everything, it is necessary to concentrate on the most essential services.

If it be objected that these questions raise political problems on which librarians are not qualified to pass judgment, the answer is that it is not possible to stand still, to ignore reality, that such judgments must be made, they are as inescapable as breathing. The opinion, for example, that the present indexing situation should not or need not be changed now would be just as much a judgment of political elements as any change that might be proposed.

R. C. Lee

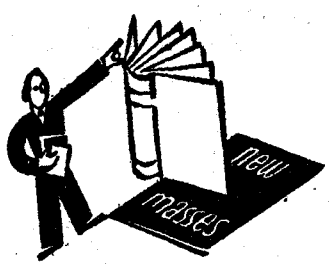
At least two titles in the current *Readers' Guide* list fall in this second category. First is *Reader's Digest*, about which the absolute minimum that can be said is that its selection of articles is politically very one-sided and distorted. Incidentally, the fact that it is a "digest" magazine may well throw doubts on its reference value. Would not an index better lead a reader to the original uncut article? Then there is the *American Mercury*, which specializes in misinformation and rumor-mongering about one of our principal allies.

Let us see how such changes would affect the Wilson Company's finances. Subscriptions to *Readers' Guide* are on a "service basis," that is, the amount paid by each library depends on the number of magazines it receives. Thus, changes or substitutions in the list could reduce the company's income. A way around that problem would be to freeze subscription rates at their present level and then make substitutions, leaving adjustments in rates until after the war. The income of the company from this service would thus be kept stable. The proportionate charges to various sizes and types of libraries would not be altered.

Finally we have the problem of selecting new periodicals. There is a long list of possibilities. To mention a few examples, the *American Federationist*, of course, should be transferred from the *International Index*, and the *CIO News* should be covered, though indexing of the latter would have to be selective. Among other trade union papers worth considering are *Ammunition*, published by the United Automobile Workers-CIO, the *Pilot* of the National Maritime Union, the *Railway Clerk*, and the *Journal of Electrical Workers*. The *Crisis*, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, should be indexed. *Amerasia* is perhaps the best current source of popularly written information on the Far East. The New Masses is a most valuable asset to good reference work in any public or college library. *New Currents*, the lively and progressive new Jewish monthly, is certainly worth covering. *Soviet Russia Today*, if indexed would provide much needed accurate information about our Russian ally. Military literature is outside the writer's field of experience, but one or two journals at least should certainly be added.

Mr. Black is librarian at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



One Year of NEW MASSES

Reduction made from subscription rate (regularly $5 a year), not book list price.

plus

FREEDOM ROAD
By Howard Fast
LIST PRICE $2.75
Combination Offer $7.00

	List Price	Combination Price
THE PEOPLE OF INDIA by Kumar Goshal	$3.00	$7.00
TEHERAN by Earl Browder	.35	5.00
THE SIX WEEKS WAR by Theodore Draper	3.00	7.25
THE MOCKING BIRD IS SINGING by E. Louise Mally	2.75	6.75
TRANSIT by Anna Seghers	2.50	7.00
TRIUMPH OF TREASON by Pierre Cot	3.50	7.25
RISE OF AMERICAN NATION by Francis Franklin	2.00	6.00
THE RAINBOW by Wanda Wasilewska	2.50	6.75
THE OUTSIDE LEAF by Ben Field	3.00	6.50
MARTIN DIES by William Gellerman	3.00	7.25
PRESIDENTIAL AGENT by Upton Sinclair	3.00	7.25
THE FIRING SQUAD by Franz Weiskopf	2.50	6.75
SHARK'S FINS AND MILLET by Ilona Ralf Sues	3.00	7.00
WE WHO WOULD DIE by Bingh Dismond	2.00	6.25
THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM by Herbert Morais	2.25	6.25
SOCIALISM & ETHICS by Howard Selsam	2.00	6.00
LIEUTENANT BERTRAM by Bodo Uhse	2.50	7.00
HARRIET TUBMAN by Earl Conrad	3.25	7.50

NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th St., New York 3, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I wish to take advantage of your combination offer. Enclosed find $.....

The book I desire is .....

Please send it to:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

Add $1 for Canadian Postage

8-15-44

Pulp History

TAILOR'S PROGRESS: The Story of a Famous Union and the Men Who Made It, *by Benjamin Stolberg. Doubleday, Doran. $2.75.*

BENJAMIN STOLBERG has for years been known in certain circles as a pillar of wisdom and a fount of knowledge about the trade union movement. Not one to hide his virtues, he is quite frank to hint at the esteem in which he is held by Matthew Woll, John L. Lewis, and David Dubinsky. It is hard to trace the source of Stolberg's wisdom, but it can be said that he has a fine facility for getting "inside" things. A few years ago he was "inside" the CIO, and was well rewarded for his pains by the Scripps-Howard papers. In the course of his burrowing Stolberg managed to discover that Communists were among the most active organizers of the workers and that indeed some of them were so well liked that they were elected to union posts. Mr. Stolberg also uncovered a number of other equally obvious facts which made the CIO seem very ungenteel indeed to Roy Howard and his friends. It was a pure coincidence, of course, that Stolberg and Howard agreed, and Stolberg is not one to let a coincidence escape.

Well, Stolberg is "inside" things again, this time the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and more particularly its president, David Dubinsky. Within the Dubinsky hierarchy Stolberg finds himself completely at ease; he laps up its anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations, anti-Communist venom as a cat takes to heavy cream; he revels in the leadership's power to sustain itself by keeping its feet firmly planted on the neck of the rank and file; he takes positive delight in the union's fat bank account.

The ILGWU has a fine and militant heritage. Its membership waged vigorous struggles to found the union, to bring the bosses to heel, to smash sweatshops, to develop socialist thought. For the last twenty years, however, the union has lived under a double handicap. Not only has the membership had to fight for economic gains in the industry—it has also had to struggle for democratic rights in the union. With the exception of the Miners' Union, perhaps no other union in recent times has had as much first-hand experience in stuffing the ballot box, goon squad tactics and denial of democratic rights as has the ILGWU. Few hints of this occur in Stolberg's book, although he pridefully admits that stern measures have been taken from time to time to suppress "Communist elements."

If the true history of the ILGWU comes off a poor second, the same cannot be said for David Dubinsky. Stolberg has done handsomely by his hero. Dubinsky is nothing less than a "protean nature," with "great social intelligence"; he is a "shrewd tactician"; his "great forte is his sheer intelligence" but "theoretical discussions bore him." He is, of course, "perennially youthful" and is equipped with "genuine humility," and for that reason runs the union "without the least touch of usurpation." But above all he is a "UNION DEMOCRAT," an encomium Stolberg is at pains to display in capital letters—the better to convince you with, my dear.

It's all pretty nauseating—something like a speech extolling the virtues of "Honest John" Bricker.

The ILGWU deserves far more than Stolberg's pulp history and some day it will get it. Meanwhile, let's hope that Dubinsky enjoys this book—the rank and file certainly won't.

STEPHEN PEABODY.

The "New" Russia

THE BELLS OF SAINT IVAN'S, *by Robert Spencer Carr. Appleton-Century. $2.*

FROM 1932 to 1937 Robert Carr lived in the Soviet Union. Among other things he harvested wheat, lived with mountain tribesmen in the Caucasus, worked as an advisor to motion picture studios, and directed documentary films for American newsreel expeditions. With this experience Carr should be able to tell a great deal about the Soviet Union and its people in these five critical years; instead he has written a short novel of a single incident in a Ukrainian village after the enemy had been expelled in 1943. Some kind of perversity seems to drive one novelist, Paul Hughes, who has never been near Russia, to attempt an epic and another who should know it intimately to produce a trifle which his publisher puffs as giving "an acute insight into the complexities of Russian character and a wealth of data. . . ."

As for data, no novel could contain less. And even if we grant the unusual complexities of character, Carr doesn't explain them with his handful of half-defined individuals. There is a Turco-Tartar girl for a dash of Oriental romance, a few townspeople and Red Armymen for local color and set speeches, and Father Gregory, a Russian priest. As the central character

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Father Gregory's function is to explain the resurgence of religion to the American who acts as devil's advocate.

This sublimated debate expresses a thesis which is growing more and more familiar—that of a new Russia, a Russia transformed by the impact of war and suffering from a diabolical, Bolshevik regime to a great and spiritually renascent state. Carr's theoretically new Russia is the product of mad dialectics, founded in falsehood, which states that inefficiency and evil can be compounded to a point where they become virtues. A compromise between the old slanders and the new understanding, this theory of a transformed Russia still provides for present distrust and future attacks.

It should be obvious that the only truthful and convincing explanation of Russian life and strength today is that they are the logical culmination of a socialist system developed from 1917 forward. Far from being soulless, it is, as the Dean of Canterbury has shown twice over, a system congruent with the spirit of Christianity and working for a social order in which it can exist. Instead of producing evidence of this fact, Carr has sent Harry, his fictional American who formerly worked in Russia as an engineer, to succor a supposedly starving priest with American field rations and to mouth the old canards which, as he says, changed him from pink to red, white, and blue. Father Gregory gives Harry his comeuppance and in doing so makes a dignified defense of the Soviet Union. But Father Gregory's statements are drowned in the continuous flow of Harry's mocking patter and the smart, glib tone of the whole book. The rebuttal is about as effective as a retraction on page ten of the *Times*.

The novel ends with the death of Father Gregory. Signaling with the bells of St. Ivan's, he directs the artillery fire against a lost Rumanian tank column which has attacked the town. Before the belfry crashes with him, he has succeeded in finding the range for the big guns which proceed to demolish the enemy. With this bit of symbolism Carr climaxes the novel and its disproportionate treatment of religion.

CLIFFORD HALLAM.

The Face on the Floor

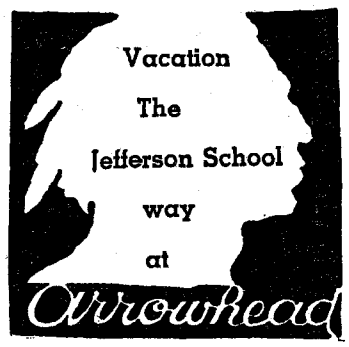
HIDDEN FACES, *by Salvador Dali. Dial Press, $3.*

HAAKON CHEVALIER, without whose mediation between the author and the reading public we would doubtless not have had Dali's first novel, tells us in his foreword that "whatever controversy may rage around the present work I feel confident that it will generally be recognized as a remarkable achievement." What is really remarkable is Mr. Chevalier's optimism; in order for a controversy to rage, there will have to be a sufficient number of readers hardy enough to wallow through this morass. Though I may admire Mr. Chevalier's efficient labor in transmitting the original with a fidelity I would not quarrel with if I could, it will take something more than his foreword and Dali's foreword and anything else you want to throw in to prod the reader on. Its best recommendation would be as an act of penance for anyone whose personal vices are as enormous as Dali's literary ones. On one point I am sure there will be no controversy at all—whether or not Dali should write novels.

Though I for one can feel no regret that Dali has not learned, in one plunge, how to write a novel, there might be some point in observing more closely his shortcomings as a novelist—if it were not for his gross conceit. But the first words he assaults us with are: "Sooner or later everyone is bound to come to me." His invasion of a new medium of art he regards as a triumph of energy, and in his undisciplined ego he parades as a Tamerlane of the arts, taking by storm one muse after the other. The alarm should be flashed to Parnassus—Dali is now contemplating the rape of Euterpe.

Right here I shall confess that it is nigh impossible to give in a review an adequate conception of what the reader will find in this book. Conceive of it as a great stew into which Dali has thrown everything he could in his kitchen; if you have a taste for Sade, medieval diabolism, the opium pipe, extravagance in jewels and fabrics, you will find some juicy morsels. The most obvious aberration in Dali's effort is the way in which he attempts to impart surrealist effects to fiction. This consists mainly in verbal descriptions of objects and details which, you feel, are intrusively derivative from his style as a painter, but there, presented externally to character and situation, they impose upon the reader the act of imagination which Dali has been unable to carry out in his prose.

It seems to me that the author misuses his talents in pursuing the somewhat antiquated and hackneyed form of the novel. What Dali really should



Want a new exciting summer vacation?

All the fun—All the sports—All the entertainment, plus stimulating courses with stimulating people at the JEFFERSON SCHOOL CAMP at ARROWHEAD.

REASONABLE RATES

ARROWHEAD, Ellenville, N. Y.; Tel. 502

SACKS FARM

Saugerties, N. Y. **Tel. 590**

Unusually beautiful countryside, fine woods, good, homey Jewish-American cooking. All conveniences. Intimate and restful. Swimming, horseback, tennis and other sports. Adults.
Booklet: L. SACKS, Saugerties, N. Y.

N F CAMP • Midvale, N. J.

Excellent Swimming, Sports and Hiking Facilities
Reservations must be made in advance. Erie R.R. to Midvale, N. J. — Tel. Pompton Lakes 262 RE

We cordially invite trade union groups.

Weekly rate $20.30 Week-end rate $3.40

ARCADIA

FISHKILL, N. Y. **Phone: Beacon 727**

A vacation for HEALTH, EFFICIENCY and FUN. 1100 acres of woods and trails. Swimming pool, tennis, all outdoor sports in full swing.

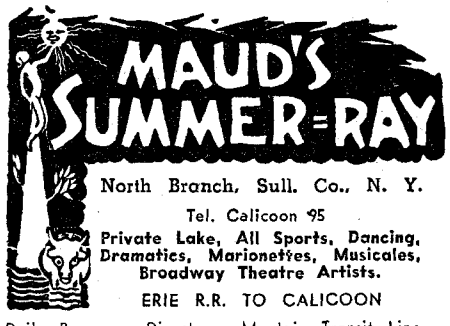
R.R. Station: Beacon, N.Y. • 40 miles from N.Y.

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE

RIDGEFIELD, CONN. **Phone 820**

A luxurious country estate converted into a haven for rest and recreation. Excellent seasonal sports facilities, free bicycles, riding, ping-pong, etc. Musical recordings, dancing, games, etc. Open fireplaces. Famous cuisine.

Only Fifty Miles from New York



North Branch, Sull. Co., N. Y.

Tel. Calicoon 95

Private Lake, All Sports, Dancing, Dramatics, Marionettes, Musicales, Broadway Theatre Artists.

ERIE R.R. TO CALICOON

Daily Buses — Direct — Moutain Transit Line
GREYHOUND TERMINAL — 50th St. & 8th Ave.
Private cars daily from your house to hotel
CO. 5-3000 City Information: Dickens 2-5786

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HILLTOP Lodge
ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE
Phone: Hopewell Junction 2761
R.R. Station: Pawling, N. Y.
Only 65 Miles from N.Y.C.
EVERY CONCEIVABLE SPORT and RECREATION
GOLF FREE on PREMISES
TENNIS - Night TENNIS - HANDBALL
SWIMMING - BOATING - HORSEBACK
BASEBALL - CYCLING, Etc.
OUR FOOD IS TOPS
For the Utmost in Vacation Value CHOOSE HILLTOP
Under direction of
Paul Wolfson - Sol Rothauser
N. Y. Office: 277 BROADWAY
Tel.: COrtland 7-3956
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y.

Kinderland

Hopewell Junction,
New York
Only 70 miles from N.Y.C.
FOR BOYS and GIRLS
5 - 16
At beautiful Sylvan Lake
ALL SPORTS
Music - Singing - Drama

N. Y. OFFICE: 1 UNION SQ. WEST (14th ST.)
GRamercy 7-8659

CAMP BEACON
BEACON, N.Y.
TEL. BEACON 23
(58 Miles on N. Y. Central Line)
Star-Studded Social Staff
- Jack De Marchant, Director
- Laura Duncan
- Beacon Variety Group
- Allan Nurse's Decca Recording Orchestra

SUMMER IS JOYFUL AT BEACON
SWIMMING - BOATING
Rush Reservation With Deposit for Best Accommodations.
Hotel Rates ---------- $35 week
Bungalow Rates ---------- $32 week
$6 Per Day
New York Office 2-6 P.M.
207 4th Ave., Room 1801, Tel. ST. 9-0624
Bronx Tel. OL. 5-6900 (9 A.M.-6 P.M.)
MICKEY HORWITZ, Mgr.
Reduction to Armed Forces and Merchant Marine Members.

BACK THE ATTACK
★ WITH ★
WAR BONDS

have written was a comic-book. I can guarantee that he has an imagination much more active and ingenious than the inventor of Batman, and, quite aside from his proved ability to create landscapes of mystery and foreboding, could add a trick or two which would make his hero's exploits in the boudoir more startling than those he accomplishes in mid-air.

But Dali cannot be dismissed with the brazen ridicule his literary pretensions invite. What Dali says is inevitably reduced to what Dali is. The question inevitably arises, is Dali symptomatic of anything, however crepuscular, it might be well to take note of? Probably—if we discount his own fetish of uniqueness. With all the contradictory negatives which he so frankly reflects in this novel, Dali, clinging shamelessly to his impostor avantguardism, seems to me to speak for the rootless, anarchic intellectual who makes out of his absence of direction a machine for perpetual motion. With his petrified antagonism to the commonweal and a haunting attachment to the past, which he never understands, this individual thrives in an atmosphere of social uncertainty. One of the ironies of his position is that fascism, which preserved, in altered form, a hierarchical society to which he might have made a parasitical attachment, could not, for the sake of its mock propaganda against degeneracy, include him; his refinements became superfluous. At the same time, in his hatred for common humanity and a personal antipathy to the forces in human progress resident in mechanism and modern science, he finds his ego appeased in the "revolutionary" company of those who extol their sect and exclude humanity, whose personal ambitions are the apex of the social pyramid. Some "hidden faces" may be amorphous and inscrutable, beyond our powers of definition—but who can fail to descry a Janus who seems totally unaware of his own deformity!

Whatever this book pretends to be, at its core you will find a pathological distrust of the ways of decent humanity; and since Dali especially fancies the role of *philosophe*, the moods, the psychological derangements of his characters, the sexual motifs become intensely the projection of his own chimeras, not even wholly relevant to the decadence which some people may mistakenly feel he is attempting to report. Dali's book is a throwback—without even an esthetic novelty to sustain the author's reputation as a provocative and unpredictable dynamism. The world of Salvador Dali is at best a sideshow attraction, but some people still seem to feel that it belongs in the main tent.

ALAN BENOIT.

FILMS

IN GENERAL, I have always believed that a picture was ballyhooed directly in proportion to the money spent in making it, and inversely to its worth. However, in the case of *Wilson*, which recently had its world premiere at the Roxy, at the risk of having you think that I was taken in by the glitter of its introductory ceremonies, I want to declare it is a *tour de force*, a brilliantly produced motion picture that reflects the care and research spent upon it. By the deft construction of its hundreds of scenes, it offers a testimonial to Hollywood's amazing technical proficiency. The opening night audience sat through its three-hour course with scarcely a visible fidget, and this achievement should silence the champions of the double feature who claim that people will not sit through a long picture, no matter how well made. But what to me is most important, structurally speaking, is that *Wilson* indicates the mastery of the episodic, documentary form, begun tentatively in *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, and utilized with progressive improvement by such films as *Mission to Moscow* and *The Hitler Gang*. It requires boldness to present heroes and villains in full length features without relying upon the traditional narrative relationships, or without the leavening factor of love. Its accomplishment required a minor revolution in screen treatment. *Wilson* applies the form with such skill that the technique will now be taken for granted.

The film emerges as a triumph of screen biography. Although some of the most impressive moments in the picture occur during the crowd scenes, as for instance the Baltimore national convention of 1912, and although thousands of extras flit in and out of the sets, *Wilson* remains singularly the record of a man, rather than of a period. Despite the fact that Wilson the wartime leader, the political man, is blurred, for reasons which I will indicate later, Wilson the idealist, the martyr who saw his program go down in crashing defeat, is a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

memorable portrait. He is human as his factual prototype was never permitted to be known to be during his lifetime. He imparts to the office of the presidency a dignity and grandeur that would not have been thought possible after observing the antics of his midwife politicians. He creates an overwhelming feeling of the burden of office under which every sensitive incumbent must struggle. From the time Woodrow Wilson is first introduced at a Yale-Princeton football game in 1909 as the president of Princeton until his death in 1921, his character is presented with a unity by film writer Lamar Trotti that is seldom marred. He is the crusading American, the sincere representative of his middle-class countryman, the writer of books, the school teacher who subscribes to his country's democratic principles. Hence during the early days of his first term the Federal Trade Commission is created; the eight-hour day is made legal; the Clayton anti-trust laws are passed. It is thus easy to accept him, in the film's terms, as a champion of democracy, an enemy of special privilege, a man conscious of the meanings of the many slogans and battle-cries for which he is remembered.

Where *Wilson* is weakest is in its historical context. It misses completely the historical core of the first World War. It does not explain why the Fourteen Points suffered defeat at home and abroad. To establish the weight of the entire historical argument upon the fact that the opposition in the Senate knifed Wilson's plans for a World Court is to miss the main point. He was a defeated man before he came home. Wilson's tragedy lay in the fact that he could not rise above the limitations of his time, which fashioned an imperialist peace out of an imperialist war. Hence the *cordon sanitaire* instead of the principles of self-determination as a technique for fixing the boundaries of nations, hence the plots and counterplots instead of open covenants openly arrived at, hence the disillusionment of millions of people all over the world and the subsequent era of Hoover Republicanism in the United States.

But if the historical issues are vague, the ideals for which Wilson fought are presented with great force and clarity. The world moves on and the limitations of one generation contribute to the understanding of the next. Thus the importance of an international organization for maintaining world peace is all the clearer to us for its having first been introduced in Wilson's program for a democratic future. The need for unity among nations is not lost on the audience which has just witnessed an idealist with a dream for peace get booted around by as venal a set of politicians as ever littered the floors of Congress.

That Darryl Zanuck meant *Wilson* to be perhaps more pertinent than historical is evinced by a number of scenes —the most effective that between Wilson and Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador. With more contemporary meaning than accuracy of detail, the President excoriates the ambassador's bosses for evils that apply now to Hitler. It is Wilson's prelude to a declaration of war, and when the audience applauds, it manifests an attitude toward the present German government as well as towards a historical act.

This meaning has not escaped the Patterson-McCormick cabal which has attacked the film as being "political"—"political" meaning any argument that will discredit the Hoover-Dewey junkshop of political wares. The way Senator Lodge, identifiable with the current opposition to Teheran, gets roundly booed at the end of the film gives a fair impression of how the country will react to the efforts of such opposition to prevent postwar collaboration.

Credit should go to Darryl Zanuck and to Twentieth-Century Fox for releasing the picture at this time. Alexander Knox as Wilson turns in a magnificent job. He did well in the same role on the Broadway stage two years ago, but his present effort is infinitely superior, and is the main reason for the believability of the character. Director Henry King has imparted pace and firm control to the innumerable scenes that in the hands of a less able man might have produced stretches of boredom. Knox, of course, could not have carried off his interpretation so well were he not aided by a fine cast, the most notable of which were Ruth Nelson and Geraldine Fitzgerald as the first and second Mrs. Wilson, and Thomas Mitchell as Joe Tumulty, Wilson's secretary. Darryl Zanuck has said that if *Wilson* failed, he would go back to Grable. I do not think that *Wilson* will fail.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

"Two Soldiers," produced by Tashkent Film Studios, USSR, directed by L. Lukov, screen play Eugene Gabrilovich, music N. Bogoslavsky, English titles by Charles Clement. This film features quite the

JACK SCHWARTZ
Announces the New
Hotel Allaben
and
Beautifully Equipped
Bungalows

Rates: $40 & $42 per week
Every Outdoor Activity
Swimming Pool with Natural Current
Rowing • Handball
Tennis • Horses • Fishing
Social Staff • Music
Hurleyville, N. Y. **Phone: 216-217**

The Woodlands

FOR THE LAZYBONES: Well-stocked library - Art classes held by Frank Kleinholz - Musical Recordings - Open fireplaces - Spectacular country.

FOR THE SPIRITED: Tennis - Handball - Swimming - Ping-Pong Badminton - Archery - Mountain trails - Croquet - Culinary Masterpieces - Fishing.

SIGGIE GOLDNER **PHOENICIA, N. Y.**
Phone: Phoenicia 33 F 4

FOR VACATION FUN AND REST

55 Miles from New York a vacation "heaven." breath-takingly beautiful countryside—delicious food—restful indoor activities—invigorating enjoyable outdoor sports: —ping pong—volley ball—bowling dancing — bicycling — (horseback riding and golf nearby). You're welcome at any time and for any time. Write for booklet.

PLUM POINT
"YEAR-ROUND VACATION RESORT"
New Windsor, N.Y. Newburgh 4270

CAMP UNITY

For Fun and Relaxation
All Sports • Entertainment
CASS CARR and BAND

RATES
$33 and $35 per week—$6 per day

ACCOMMODATIONS AVAILABLE FROM AUGUST 27 TO SEPTEMBER 19.
Plan for an Indian Summer Vacation.
Camp will remain open through the Jewish Holidays.
Make your reservations now.

LOUIS PASTERNAK, Mgr.
WINGDALE, N. Y. ON N.Y.C.R.R.
N. Y. Office: 1 Union Square
Wingdale 2461 **AL. 4-8024**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What you really want is
Everything
—and "*everything*" that makes a dream vacation at Chesters' includes: FAST CLAY TENNIS COURTS • LARGE FILTERED POOL • PRIVATE LAKE • and many exciting etcetera's . . . Swell adult fun. Open-hearth Fires. Music Treasures. Dancing Instruction. Arts and Crafts. Entertainment Staff that really ENTERTAINS! . . . Food? Mmmmmmmm.

Accommodations from regular to DeLuxe. Attractive rates throughout the Summer. *Easy to reach by train, bus, or door-to-door taxi service.*
WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp For Adults Stoddard, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes. Interesting hiking objectives through woodland trails. Fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square dancing. Intelligent, gay companionship.
$38 and $42 weekly. Olive H. G. Baron, Director

HILLCREST On Beaverkill Lake
Union Grove, N. Y. Tel. Livingston Manor 218 J 11
Most enchantingly beautiful spot in the Catskills. Far off the beaten path. Adult resort. Delightful mile long lake at your door. All sports.
DELICIOUS MEALS — NO SOCIAL STAFF.
July and August—$30 to $40 Weekly.
Daily $6 and $6.50

Birdland
Formerly Lewisohn's Estate OPEN ALL YEAR
One hour from N. Y. 225 acres of fascinating hiking country. SPORTS: Fast tennis courts, handball, golf, swimming, horseback, ping-pong, games and dancing. Excellent cuisine. Modern accommodations. Congenial surroundings.
MODERATE RATES—MAKE EARLY RESERVATIONS
Central Valley, N. Y. Tel. Highland Mills 7895

CAMP ANNISQUAM
Gloucester, Mass.
ABRAM RESNICK
Director
This Adult Camp
in safe little sheltered cove near picturesque Gloucester. Salt water swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, trips and all sports. Six hours by train from New York.
Write for booklet and rates

LAKELAND
Camp Lakeland
ON SYLVAN LAKE
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.
With All Facilities for a Complete Vacation
DELICIOUS FOODS : : ALL SPORTS
SOCIAL STAFF
Easy to reach. 70 miles via N.Y.C.R.R. to PAWLING. Taxi to Camp
Discount to Men in Uniform
Telephone: GRamercy 7-8659
New York Office: 1 UNION SQUARE W.

most engaging "friendly-rival" team of motion-picture history: Mark Bernes and Boris Andreyev. The action of *Two Soldiers*, military and amorous, takes place on the Leningrad front. The film is marked throughout by light, seemingly improvised, humor, Mark Bernes' songs are well recorded and good enough musically to warrant their issuance in disk form. *Two Soldiers* is not a master Soviet film. It has the character almost of a short-short. (Readers of *Colliers* will understand.) But it is entirely entertaining and cleanly in conception.

MGM's *The Canterville Ghost* is not "star-roarious" as the company's press department insists. Nor does it constitute with *Bathing Beauty* a "terrific twosome," signed, sincerely, Leo the Lion. Fortunately the picture is much better and a lot more modest than its advertising copy. Oscar Wilde's story has been considerably revised by Edwin Harvey Blum, not with invariable success. Jules Dassin directs with competence and the performers are creditable when they are not choking in goo, and straighten out of their obeisance to the child Canterville, Margaret O'Brien (both the plot and her actual weekly salary seem to demand it). But this aside, you'll have a fairly amusing time of it. Charles Laughton seemed just about right as the clowning phantom without even half trying.

Mr. Winkle Goes To War, screen play by Waldo Salt, George Corey, and Louis Solomon, directed by Alfred E. Green, original novel Theodore Pratt. Produced by Columbia Pictures. Features Edward G. Robinson, Ted Donaldson. A sort of semi-folk rendering of what can happen (well, almost), when a forty-four-year-old Winkle who has worked in a bank the greater part of said forty-four is suddenly lifted off his chair by the United States Selective Service.

The film is not without its trying aspects. Child actor Ted Donaldson is the only member of the cast who believes completely in the script. Nevertheless, within the confines of its broad and loose purposes the film impresses as wholesome and provides considerable pleasure. J. McC.

The Robot Bombs

(*Continued from page* 10)

on tactics must be changed, that new ones must be created.

V1 undoubtedly was one of many of these new tactics, others of which were "strategic retreats," "elastic defense," the creation of hedgehog strong points throughout the occupied areas of the Soviet Union, the full occupation of France, and countless others of varying scope and importance. Its singularity lies in the fact that it was intended to be among the last of these tactics to be employed— for the V1 attacks began ten days after the start of the invasion of Europe and it is an indisputable fact that preparations for mass launching of V1 started well over a year ago. Another factor proving this point is the well known aviation maxim that it takes at least a year to design a plane, another to produce a prototype and still another to get it into production. And it is entirely safe to say that any further surprises sprung by the Nazis along the lines of flying jet or rocket bombs must have had their inception shortly after Stalingrad. No power on earth could have produced them sooner than that.

THE inevitable conclusion from this is that V1 fulfills two short-range purposes which possess both tactical and strategic objectives. The first is the attempted terrorization of the British people. This is supposed to slow down the war effort and induce the Allies to negotiate a soft peace. Obviously, on examination of the realities of the situation, this tactic has been a failure. It simply has not produced the expected results.

The second is one with a much larger scope and a more realistic approach to the basic problems it is supposed to solve. It appears, moreover, to have been a modest success, for its aim was the bolstering—if only for a month or two, of the rapidly declining morale and will to fight of the German people. The German press, notably *Das Schwartze Korps*, has frankly admitted this. The latter publication, a Storm Troop organ, has stated that V1 averted the outbreak of rioting and possible uprising. Goebbels himself remarked that the new weapon and others like it stood between the German people and catastrophe, and he has emphasized his belief that only these weapons can now save Germany from destruction.

That this success in the realm of morale is but temporary and must inevitably collapse as soon as the western Allies smash through and clear the whole French coast of the enemy, has no meaning now to the Nazis. V1 may be only the first of a few last straws, but the Wehrmacht is clutching at them with all hands. The German home front must be shown that somehow their army is still able to hurt the British, since it can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES

Classified Advertisements

50¢ a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50. Approx. 7 words to a line.
Deadline Fri., 4 p.m.

RoKo HOLDS NEW EXHIBITION

NEW PAINTINGS BY LEADING ARTISTS. Also selected examples of seragraphs, with an example of the progression of one print. We solve all framing problems.
RoKo Frames, 51 Grenwich Ave., CHelsea 2-7049

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE—Insurance of every kind—whatever your needs—**FREQUENT SAVINGS.** 80 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. Tel. PEnnsylvania 6-6788.

GYMNASIUM

WOMEN—Reduce—Keep fit. Open daily 'till 9:00 P.M. Individual Exercise—Massage—Bicycles—Steam Cabinets, etc. Complete trial visit $2.25. Special budget exercise course $12 monthly. Special Saturday corrective exercise courses for children. **GOODWIN'S GYMNASIUM**, 1457 Broadway (42 St.). WIsconsin 7-8250.

THE HEALTH REST

Delightful at all seasons. Homelike, congenial, progressive health and vegetarian resort. Moderate weekly or week-end rates. Booklet on request. Address Spring Valley, N.Y. Phone Nanuet 2316 or 967.

MANUSCRIPT TYPING

Manuscripts nearly and efficiently typed. Union rates. Apply Box 1809, New Masses, 104 East 9th St., N.Y.C.

HANDWRITING READ

KNOW THYSELF; send your questions and $1.00 for complete handwriting analysis. Mail to Natalie Ordower, 266 Henry St., Brooklyn.

For the

Victory Expansion Fund

★

To: The Editors, NEW MASSES,
104 East 9th St., New York 3, N. Y.

I enclose $.....as my initial contribution. In addition, I want to pledge $..... so that NM can again fully cover its planned budget. (Please indicate fulfillment dates of your pledge.)

(Dates) .....

Name .....

Street .....

City.....P.O. Unit No.....

State .....

no longer seriously hurt the Russians.

The recent appearance of partially rocket-propelled fighter planes on the fighting front indicates that the Germans may still have one or more surprises of the nature of V1 up their sleeves. But none of them will in reality delay victory for the Allies. There may be bigger flying bombs. This is entirely possible, although they will not be much bigger, for the greater the load of explosive carried, the greater must be the weight of fuel to propel it. This engineering defect, impossible at present to remedy effectively, rapidly reaches the point of mechanical absurdity. In the case of the reported ten-ton bomb the various engineering factors involved make the problem of fuel a logistic and economic impossibility. For when it comes to bombs of that weight it is much cheaper and easier and infinitely more destructive to simply build a regularly manned bomber which could plant its eggs fairly accurately and not in the hit-or-miss fashion of V1.

The public prints are filled today with rumors of flying bombs capable of attacking New York and other American cities. When they appear in reactionary, pro-Hitler papers this may be discounted as mere wish-fulfillment. In any other case a slight smile at the sensationalism and gullibility of the newspaper concerned will suffice, for nothing of the kind is going to happen. For one thing, the machinery for production of *rocket* ships of the size necessary to cross the ocean also does not exist. Such ships would, incidentally, have to be rocket-propelled, since this method is the only one powerful enough to do the job. And if they were actually in construction, they would be manned by crews, much in the same manner as any other bombing craft. Such vessels cannot be remotely controlled, again for the reason that the only device capable of performing this feat—television—still is in much too primitive a stage of development in point of this specific use to be effective. Apparatus of this sort may be perfected within ten years, but it is well to remember that scientific progress is on very much the same level of development in all the industrialized countries.

The robot bomb employed in the Nazi fashion is a weapon clearly designed by a robot mentality. That the experiment turned out to be a colossal failure is but one more proof of the threadbare incompetence of fascist thinking and a stark reflection of its utter enslavement to mindless bulk and inert metal.

THE THEATRE GUILD Presents
(in association with Jack H. Skirball)
Jacobowsky and the Colonel
The Franz Werfel - S. N. Behrman Comedy
Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN — ANNABELLA — OSCAR KARLWEIS
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
Martin Beck THEATRE, 45th St. West of 8th Ave. Evgs. at 8:30
AIR CONDITIONED Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

A Three-act Thunderbolt—*Walter Winchell*
Herman Shumlin presents
Lillian Hellman's New Play
CORNELIA OTIS SKINNER — DENNIS KING — DUDLEY DIGGES
"The Searching Wind"
FULTON—46th St. W. of B'way. CI. 6-6380
Evgs. 8:40. $1.20 to $4.20. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40
AIR CONDITIONED

ARTKINO PRESENTS
The Screen's Merriest Musical Romance
"They Met in Moscow"
PLUS
"Two Hearts in Waltz Time"
Benefit Block Tickets at Reduced Prices. GR. 5-6975
IRVING PLACE IRVING PL. AT 14TH ST.

THIRD BIG WEEK! ARTKINO PRESENTS!
"TWO SOLDIERS"
COMRADES IN BATTLE! RIVALS IN LOVE!
A romantic story of love and war on the battle scarred Leningrad front.
EXTRA: Anton Chekhov's immortal comedy
"THE BEAR"
PLUS: RUSSIAN MUSICAL FESTIVAL
Cont. from 9 a.m. Late Show Every Saturday!
STANLEY 7th Ave. bet. 41-42 Sts. WI. 7-9698 (air cond.)

44th Street Book Fair Gallery
TO SEPTEMBER 5th
EXHIBITION OF NEW WORK
10 NEW YORK ARTISTS
Oils - Water Colors - Drawings
$5 to $125
Open until 9 P.M. daily except Sunday
133 W. 44th St., nr. Broadway

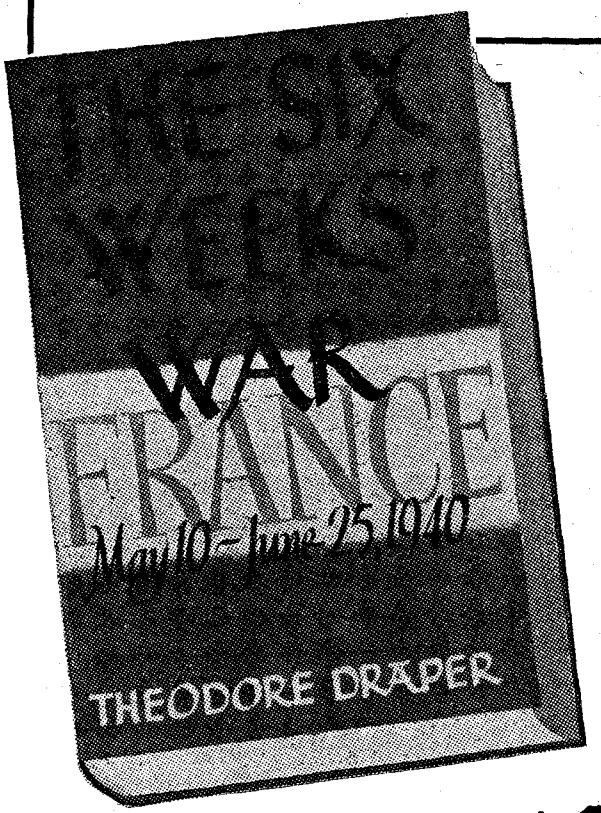
NOW YOU MAY HAVE
VODKA
with your BORSCHT and SHASHLIK
at the
Russian Skazka
Open for Dinner and Late Snacks 'til 3 a.m.
227 WEST 46th ST., N.Y.C.
CHickering 4-9229

ASCH ALBUMS NEW RELEASES
No. 344—Square Dances with calls
No. 345—Burl Ives Wayfaring Stranger
No. 450—Jazz (Mary Lou Williams)
For catalogue of 75 USSR Records, write to
Stinson Trading Co.
27 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK FIND CLUB'S CURRENT SELECTION

THE SIX WEEKS' WAR



EVERYONE MUST READ THIS BOOK!

Everyone in every country must read it, and perhaps more especially everyone in America, because . . . it will always show how the most highly civilized, the most strongly democratized democracies can crumble when corruption starts being tolerated by the people's representatives.

Genevieve Tabouis

THE BEST BOOK ABOUT THE TRAGIC DOWNFALL OF FRANCE . . .

It is intelligent and penetrating, especially important and factual in the days when the battle for the liberation of France has already started.

Max Werner

THIS IS A BOOK THAT WILL INTEREST BOTH THE MILITARY SPECIALIST AND GENERAL READER . . .

The recent Allied invasion of Normandy, the unfolding struggles of the French underground fighters of the Maquis, and the emergence of a de facto provisional government of France under Gen. Charles de Gaulle have all set in high relief that six weeks' war in 1940 when French fortunes were at their lowest ebb in modern history. These circumstances will win many readers for Theodore Draper's absorbing and very able study.

NEW MASSES

THIS BOOK IS YOURS FOR ONLY $1.35 WHEN YOU JOIN THE BOOK FIND CLUB

✓ There are no dues ✓ You simply agree to accept 4 books a year at $1.35 each

HOWARD FAST SAYS:—

"Praise is not enough for the BOOK FIND CLUB. It must be supported and broadened because it is the only thing of its kind in America today, the only book club I know of that accepts books on merit alone, that seeks out good books, finds them, and gives them to the public. A new generation of writers will lean on the BOOK FIND CLUB and if past performance means anything, they will not be disappointed."

PAUL ROBESON SAYS:—

(In a message to BOOK FIND CLUB) "You are to be congratulated on your splendid effort to bring the really worthwhile books within the reach of all. You are making a real contribution to the culture of the democratic world. Best of luck to you."

JOIN BOOK FIND CLUB — *Clip this Coupon*

Please enroll me as a member. Enclosed is my payment of $1.35 to cover the cost of my initial selection—THE SIX WEEKS' WAR. It is understood that each month I will receive the Book Find News notifying me in advance of the forthcoming selection. I guarantee to accept at least 4 books in the course of a year.

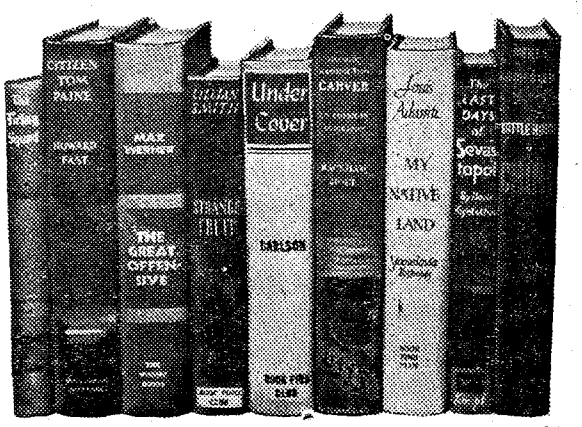
NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

Mail to BOOK FIND CLUB, 480 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

DEPT. N. M.



These outstanding books were all BOOK FIND CLUB selections during the past year.

The enthusiastic demands of Club members have completely exhausted our supply of many of these selections, however, if you join NOW, there is still time to avail yourself of the following titles—MY NATIVE LAND by Louis Adamic, BATTLE HYMN OF CHINA by Agnes Smedley and THE FIRING SQUAD by Franz Weiskopf.

PRODUCED BY AUNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED